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STATS SHOW the children of immigrants are a diverse shade and help Canada thrive

Open to the world

Immigration is central to many aspects of life in Canada. So why has there been so little debate on the topic in the current election campaign?

One reason is that the three main parties have rather similar platforms. While the Conservatives, Liberals and NDP disagree on aspects of implementation, all tend to favour large-scale immigration, better recognition of foreign credentials and a reduction in the applicant backlog.

Critics argue that general sense of agreement in the minds of party leaders is enough to carry forward whichever system. The Fraser Institute, a group generally skeptical of increased immigration, claims our system is "unimproved by politicians seeking re-election." True, post-immigration policies will well mirror economic goals. But the real motivation—economic benefit, not political expediency in the absence of an immigration debate, it's worth reminding everyone of this fact.

Canada's demographic need for immigrants in the labour force is universally acknowledged. And yet the employment rate and income of recent immigrants typically falls below that of native-born Canadians for a matter of years. While this process is a natural cause for concern (and that's the Fraser Institute to question the benefits of immigration), the long-term view is much clearer: This is because immigrant families are extremely focused on the advantages of education.

Earlier this week Statistics Canada reported on the university graduation rates of second-generation immigrants. The results are astounding. Among children of immigrants from China, 70 per cent hold a university degree. Across all countries of origin, it's 58 per cent. This compares to a mere 30 per cent for children of Canadian-born parents.

There are many potential reasons—differences in culture, a sense of obligation to family, heightened expectations as to what life in a new country—that may explain why post-secondary education is so dominant among second-generation Canadians. Regardless, it seems clear immigrant families have an unstated desire to succeed, and a better-educated workforce benefits all Canadians.

Partner studies across three U.S. research into parent applications. In September, a paper from the National Bureau of Economic Research revealed immigrants like fewer as many parents as do native-born Americans. Again, this is because immigrants have a greater propensity for higher education. The authors suggest a one per cent increase in the rate of immigration of college graduates would produce a 15 per cent increase in the number of patents produced per capita, with a concomitant rise in economic prospects.

Immigration is often presented as a favour done by Canada for the rest of the world. Rather, immigration is a gift the rest of the world gives us. So let's have more of it.

OUR READERS may remember that from April to September 2006, we campaigned to have the U.S.-funded cable HBO made available to Canadians. We were tired of relying on The Movie Network and Movie Central to pick up great shows like *The Wire* and *The Sopranos* in Canada. We were tired of relying on some of HBO's documentaries and sport events. For 20 straight weeks, we wrote Canadians to all the good stuff we either couldn't see or had to wait for. Well, we're pleased to say Aerial Media and Canal Eastern have agreed to our pleas. HBO Canada will debut series Canada on Oct. 18. We hope you're as excited as we are. ■

MACLEAN'S

ENTERTAINMENT

MOVIE
Paul Giamatti
Mr. T
 Giamatti's performance as the titular character in the comedy *Mr. T* is a perfect blend of humor and pathos. He plays a man who is a bit of a loser, but who has a heart of gold. Giamatti's performance is a perfect blend of humor and pathos. He plays a man who is a bit of a loser, but who has a heart of gold.

TELEVISION
David Duchovny
Angel
 Duchovny's performance as the titular character in the comedy *Angel* is a perfect blend of humor and pathos. He plays a man who is a bit of a loser, but who has a heart of gold. Duchovny's performance is a perfect blend of humor and pathos. He plays a man who is a bit of a loser, but who has a heart of gold.

BOOKS
Michael Ondaatje
The English Patient
 Ondaatje's novel *The English Patient* is a perfect blend of humor and pathos. It tells the story of a man who is a bit of a loser, but who has a heart of gold. Ondaatje's performance is a perfect blend of humor and pathos. It tells the story of a man who is a bit of a loser, but who has a heart of gold.

THEATRE
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'Palin's married to a man who cares for his family full-time. In my eyes, he's no underachiever.'

GROOVY WITH WHOM?

I FOUND HARPER to be a very attractive candidate ("Will women decide the election?" National, Sept. 22). He appeared to be a solid, decent caring person, a man who does not desire prestige or career glory, but who is not afraid to make changes to those promises when he needs to. Women like solid, strong men who also stay family friendly and still date. Harper goes by my vote, no matter how much data is going to cause
Verena Arnold, Edmonton

IT IS EXTREMELY presumptuous to run a controversy only one week into the campaign, alleging that Stephen Harper has "found his groove" with women, while Stephen Desha has just his "moo." Harper's one right conversion to women and fuzzy is not "musical," no matter what your writers, John Goddes and Aaron Wherry, think. Desha's nomination strategy and demeanor are *Maclean's* seriously underestimates the intellectual and analytical capabilities of Canadian women. It is true that women don't vote as a block. However, a good number of us would believe Harper is serious about women's issues when, instead of TV ads featuring pretty soccer moms, he tells us what he has done for abused women and children and for senior women living in poverty.
Karen Stuelens, President, Women's Liberal Association, Kansas, Ont.

DO STEPHEN HARPER and his PR machine really believe that Canadian women will be swayed by his laughable tirade that TV ads "Give us some credit? That kind of thinking is why he doesn't have our votes in the first place."
James E. Withness, Victoria

YOUR COVER LINE, "Who women want," should read "Whose women want?" Have grammatical errors just become an acceptable trait that nobody notices anymore?
Maria Louisa DeWitt, Ottawa

MY COLLEAGUES AND I were discussing your cover line this weekend. I thought that some readers would be quick to criticize your grammar. Of course you were correct to use the word "Who." Assuming that the story is about what heterosexual women want (i.e. men), the implied sentence would read, "The men

who women want" or "The men who are wanted by women." The "who" is a subordinate clause conjunction, a signifier for the beginning of a relative (or adjective) clause. "Who" is a relative pronoun and because of that, it's used in the subject, not the object. It would mean the "whom" as there's no conjunction of direct action.
Christopher Allen, Etobicoke, Ont.

NO DOUBT DESHA is a sensitive guy-man, a brilliant chef and a thoughtful writer. However, he's not the sort of fellow we'd ever invite for a guy's weekend of beer, poker, cigars and football while the girls enjoyed a

chat. Palin's son is "off to kill Joseph." Would he say the name of young Canadians sent to Afghanistan?
David Landier, Atikokan, Ont.

BARBARA AMIEL's comment about Sarah Palin's husband being a "low achiever" was the last straw ("Why are those moms so buggy by Palin?" Opinion, Sept. 22). Being married to a man who loved his family enough to cast for them full-time would not hold him as an underachiever in my eyes. Todd Palin was out over that one when Amiel is married to Heather J. Arliss, Guelph, Ont.

ASK HER ANYTHING

ABOUT JONATHAN GATHEMER's story on the veracity of political polling, I'm one of those few people who still pick up the land-line phone and answer questions ("Survey says nothing," National, Sept. 22). I haven't trained polls for years for that reason alone. I get called often, and since the polls come out about the time that I've finished setup and am waiting for the rest of the family to show up, I'll often answer. That is also when I'm likely to have a happy hour buzz on and feel like blabbering. Even I know that this does not make me representative of Canadians as a whole. But for pollsters who want to know what a slightly tipsy, commiserate, Rumsfeld Catholic mom of six feels about anything, I must be a real find.
Lynia Pilger, Toronto, Ont.

A WOLF'S BANE

READER TO NICHOLAS KREUZER for a ground-breaking piece of journalism ("Delenda of the New Valley pack," The Envo, Sept. 22). Without relying on pathos, his piece on the life and death of the timber wolf named Delenda was amazing, and, at the same time, hope-inspiring. That a major news magazine would publish this obligatory signifier that the human race finally may have recognized the reality that we share this planet with others. Paying the respect of equal is well in a great eye. Thank you, Mr. Kreuzer.
April Pettigrew, Victoria

WOULD THAT WE all had the courage and tenacity of the vine-covered wolf that lost her battle with cancer.
Arnoldette MacLeod, Redwood Hill, Ont.



I HAD NO IDEA Greyhound had so many problems until I experienced them first-hand.

BOYDEN WRITES BACK

I WROTE LISA TO RESPOND to a letter in the Sept. 29 issue from Brian Boyden, director of communications for the Ontario Power Authority, about my story on its plan for building dams along the Moose River ("Progress and power," Environment, Sept. 26). The article fact remains that when I wrote my article, the Moose Cree First Nation had not been invited to attend hearings in September. Brian Haywood surely knew that the Moose Cree First Nation will be, far and away, the Ontario band most severely impacted by its potential plans for its organization now works on. Why did Mr. Hay not personally visit this community and be asked to by Lake Ontario Waterkeeper? And this more than one year after the most tragic and man-made of dam failures with no intention of site-specific impact to Mushkegowuk were sent to the former administration of the Moose Cree First Nation. Further, separating out Cree negotiator Ernest Redhead is a tired divide-and-conquer government strategy. I suggest that Mr. Redhead should now be seen responsible for protecting the interests of everyone on the west coast of James Bay just because he agreed to attend our meeting in Toronto more than a year ago while serving under a different administration. OPA's secretary, Linda's a wise woman to purposely treat all First Nations as if they're not and the same. The OPA and the province of Ontario should not know it to the "ultimate leader of the people" to engage in dialogue with the community. They should be defending the public interest and responding to—not deferring against—the concerns raised in my article.
Joseph Boyden, New Orleans

GREY LADY GOWN

CHERI SELLERY'S ARTICLE on Greyhound and Bus Lines was timely and informative ("Can lady grey be saved?" Business, Sept. 22). I had no idea that the bus company had so many problems until I experienced them

first hand on a family trip from Toronto to Niagara Falls. We arrived at the Bay Street bus terminal—an ugly, polluted and dingy bus facility—one hour before boarding time, as instructed when we booked, only to have to line up and waiting buses to secure our seats. When our 12.15 p.m. bus finally arrived, the driver and his helper kept us waiting, sitting under our seats for more than 30 minutes, shouting over the engine noise into our ears. My son has respiratory problems and wanted us to skip the whole thing, while my elderly mother became dizzy standing in line. What a shame it was for a journey to one of Canada's wonders to start off under such painful circumstances.
Janene Androschke, Toronto

MACLEAN'S BESTSELLERS LIST will return to our magazine pages next week. To check out this week's list, please visit www.cbc.ca/bestsellers

IN PASSING

BOB LAMONTAGNE, 54, football player. One of the most prolific players in the history of the Canadian Football League, the U.S. team Lamontagne in the Baltimore Colts. Lamontagne is then first Grey Cup. After retiring he became a TV commentator and coach. Nicknamed the "Little Giant" owing to his five-foot, nine-inch height, he was known for the demanding level of performance he set while coaching the Hamilton Tiger-Cats.

MARION DESHA, 50, politician. The mayor of Ottawa during the early 1980s, she became well-known nationally for her stand on decidedly non-conservative issues such as nuclear disarmament, gay rights and the sponsoring of Vietnamese refugees. Desha later became national president of the New Democratic Party.

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MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON WHAT PEOPLE ASK THE FINANCE MINISTER WHEN HE KNOCKS AT THEIR DOOR

FLAHERTY'S 'ANIMAL HOUSE' OFFICE

[illegible]

MOVING BACK IN WITH MOM

When 34 retired Liberal candidate Marc Garneau knocks on doors, people ask him to wait outside and not to get their camera for a photo op. The former astronaut was the first Canadian in space. Garneau's mother lives in Ottawa, so if he wins the plans to stay with her while he's on tour. That's how close Garneau keeps to quip. "Fifty-nine and missing back home with Mom."

FINALLY, A TOILET PAPER HOLDER

Former NIDP trader and holder



FINANCE PROMOTER: Are Fishery (top): Jason Kenney with David Auerh (middle left), Clive Chow (middle right), Alexei Durov (below left), Marc Garsneau (below right), Mark (far left) and Diane Moloney, Christine Mody (below) and Christine Mody.

now as a condo and her son, Justin McDonough, who has three children, bought her house. "I get to go there for family celebrations," McDonough says. He is a huge advocate for women in politics and says the person to watch in her own party is Peggy Nash. She has been picked for a Terry. "Keep an animal house, challenge the conservatives [in the Conservative party] to begin with. They are about to

per cent worse. I only see one woman who has all the right stuff and wants to be a manager: Diane Abbott. She's the most capable woman. She's really damn smart."

CHRISTINE
CONNUSSION

McAll about racism in the Tennessee ruling of *Trinity* Spadens. Now, NDP MP Olivia Chow is a big name and the wife of federal Liberal leader Justin Trudeau. Layton, Chow is up against Liberal candidate Christine Menzies, the wife of former Liberal MP Barry Menzies, whose Chow beat in the 2006 election. In a ruling that would ally good NDP or Liberal, the Tories may have tossed the New Democrats off by using someone whose name confusion on the ballot. Their candidate is also named Christine. Christine McGarr. Trinity Spadens may want to stop shouting "Christine! Christine!" at voters.

WHY ARE YOU
HERE, JASON?

At the book launch for David Arreola's book *Revolving the North: The Story of Canadian Showmen at the Birch Toodie*, you might expect to hear a lot of talk about "grievances" from Stephen Harper was actually a video of his former Toronto speech on the occasion of the city's 40th anniversary, complete with the thunderous applause he received while delivering it. Calgary MP Jason Kenney, who attended the launch, recently spent a day in his own riding handcuffing on doors. He told Capital Bary he was repeatedly asked for it "What are you doing here?" people asked him "Can you share and give some constructive insights on this?"

ON THE WEB For more Odessa outtakes or to contact Mitchell Raphael, visit mitchraphael.com

More menacing than bell-bottoms? Impossible.



ANDREW POTTER

Midway through his classic 1970 hippie manifesto *The Greening of America*, Yale grad Charles Reich makes the case for the political importance of wide-legged jeans. Bell bottoms free your legs for dancing, and dancing helps shake your mind loose from the straight-jacketed rigidity of everyday life. Free your ankles and your mind will follow, he argues, and behold the dawning of the Age of Aquarius.

It didn't quite work out that way, and despite 40 years of trying on different looks, the counterculture has never managed to bring down the system through sartorial rebellion. On the other hand, less than liberal-minded authorities have known for centuries that laws regulating what their subjects can and can't wear make for an effective tool for social control and cultural repression.

For example, a few years ago, a number of shopping malls in England and Australia decided to ban patrons from wearing hijabs or hoodies. In the United States, too, a ban on baggy pants came under fire across the South, with municipalities in Missouri, Texas, Georgia and Florida implementing bylaws outlawing the bell-less, low-crotch pants favored by young black men trying to look like a prison inmate who has had his belt taken away, and by young white men trying to look like young black men.

The proposed ban on a subset of amusement through the media for a few weeks, thanks largely to a rash of teen-robberies and gun-wielding run-ins from the cops, only to be tripped up by the heavy folds of denim that constituted their prisoning hips.

Officials cooked up all sorts of excuses for why these new regulations were needed. Sometimes the explanation was public-safety: hoodies conceal the face, and make it harder for security guards to check ID cards. Other jurisdictions made an effort to hide the

disenfranchisement lurking behind the proposals, as in Atlanta, where the ban was put forward as an amendment to the city's indecency laws—the same ones that keep the citizens safe from subway fluffers and public masturbators.

Lots of people took the time last year to argue that these laws were just a form of racial profiling masquerading as public safety initiatives, but everyone involved knows these bans have little to do with safety, and nothing to do with public safety. They are manifestly racist regulations, the modern replacement for the Jim Crow laws that exist for no reason other than to give cops legitimate cover for their pastime hobby of harassing black kids. This interpretation was vindicated



Counterculture has yet to bring down the system through sartorial rebellion

acted (if that's the word) in *Agony* by the actions of the police department of Riviera Beach, Fla., a crime-ridden and predominantly black community just up the road from Palm Beach.

Some of Riviera Beach's finest decided a crackdown was in order, and they started rigorously enforcing a new city ordinance that makes Wearing Pants Below the Waist a crime. In short order they had arrested 11 young men, two of whom were juveniles. The fact that (spoiler surprise!) all 11 are black is surely incidental to their arrest, as no doubt is the fact that the message of their mugshots posted on the website *The Snookling Gun* looks like a cutting call for a new season of *The Wire*. A stroll through the probable cause affidavits for the arrests reveals a grotesque over-patting: cops see black males reminding his own business, cop spies an inch or two of black man's underwear, cop goes home. Most of the time, the "suspects" had no clue what they were even under arrest for.

The use of officially enforced dress codes as a way of controlling or oppressing the lower classes is an old story. Once upon a time, most of Europe had compulsory laws that promoted the status symbols of the aristocracy by limiting the fabrics, styles, and colors that the lower orders were allowed to wear. When Kemal Atatürk was building a secular Turkish state out of the wreckage of the Ottoman Empire, do you know how he got devout Muslim women to stop wearing head scarves? He passed a law that all prostitutes had to wear them.

In fact, when law and order types aren't fixated on black youth's button shirts, they live to pick on prostitutes. In Uganda last week, the minister for ethics and integrity, one James

Mukasa Bwanga, outlined his plan to arrest all life Aterans on one condition, as a way of eradicating dowry on hoodlums and reducing road accidents. It turns out that the thought of a lifeless dowry causes Ugandan men to glow into lamp-posts and rear-end each other in favor of dowry.

But if Ugandan hoodlums are half as clever as Indian plants-walkers, he's going to have his hands full. Last week, the mayor of Rome declared his intention to issue a decree banning the city's prostitutes from wearing "unusually and indecent

clothing" on the grounds that (you guessed it) that Greece and Italy on display is causing car accidents. The mission of the Committee for the Rights of Prostitutes (a sort of lobby group for Italian sex workers) was absolutely vigorous: they've decided to start dressing as nuns.

Back in Riviera Beach, the story took a happy turn last Tuesday when Palm Beach Circuit Judge Paul Doyle, acting on the advice of a public defender, ruled that the suggestion ban was unconstitutional. Doyle's decision is not binding over the smaller bans that are in place across the South, but give it time. After all, it only took 80 years for the original Jim Crow laws to be overturned.

In the meantime, oppressed young black men should send a page from the *Iskhan* hoodlums union playbook, put aside their stussy trousers, and start dressing like cops. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter, visit his blog at www.madhouse.co/andrepotter



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'It's an auto-castration. We've had some periods where our elites functioned well, but we don't seem able to sustain it.'

JOHN RALSTON SAUL TALKS TO KATE FILLION ABOUT RACISM, OUR 'METIS' CULTURE, AND OUR ELITES' INABILITY TO UNDERSTAND PROBLEMS

Q *Your new book* After Country, *opens with the startling claim that Canada is a Metis civilization, not a European one. What does that mean?*

A: You have to put aside the naïveté idea of the Metis. I'm referring to our way of imagining ourselves, our way of seeing and thinking. We believe the most for whom we do come from Europe and, increasingly, the United States. Actually we're much less European than the U.S., which is constructed completely out of the Enlightenment and European 19th-century ideas. And we are really the product of the first 250 years of our 400 years as a civilization, the product of experiences between newcomers and Aboriginals, when Aboriginals were either the dominant or equal players, depending on where you were in the country. We are a blend of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, but the driving idea under much is the Aboriginal one.

Q: *How is not understanding this, or not agreeing with it, problematic?*

A: If you persist in believing that your moral influences are A when they're not B, then you're not able to deal with yourself as a country, as a people. You're always grasping for explanations that are based on the wrong source, and that makes a very difficult to reach your potential, because you're slowing yourself up the whole time.

Q: *What aspects of Canadian society are not adequately explored in your book?*

A: Single-tier health care, for example, or kind of hate racism—when you search for where these things come from, you don't find philosophical, financial or political sources in Europe. And, most interesting, where do we find the explanation for our quite successful approach to immigration and citizenship? Of course there are some difficulties, but how is it that we manage to take in one per cent of the population in a year? How is it that more than 80 per cent of the people who come to Canada become citizens within four to five years, whereas the number in the U.S. is 40 per cent and the European number would be seven or eight per cent, and they're having difficulties? How is it that we're so relaxed about this idea that there's somehow a marriage possible between what people bring and what people become?

Q: *Most people would say our comfort came from Trudeau's two conventions and immigration policies. But are you arguing that it really stems from a tradition going back 400 years, when the Aboriginal peoples were or less welcomed European settlers?*

A: That's right. We did not somehow magically change overnight in the 1970s. If you take the long view, you see Canada attempting to spit up in an egalitarian way much earlier. In fact, the problems we've had—our dark moments, our failures of racism and exclusion, everyone knows the list—came when we tried to apply European approaches. In the last 100 years you have this big arrival of Anglo-Saxon English, and they give their way

in many areas, one of which is a linear, racially based idea of citizenship. But the original idea in the 17th century was that Aboriginal, circular, race-racial, community-based, family-based, where you have an endless negotiation about how you include people and how you redefine the circle. When you look for the roots of what we did in the 1970s, they all go back to the Aboriginal approach.

Q: *Although you say it's another kind of assault to connect to Aboriginals, your essay is a relatively positive. Do you have any criticism of the legacy of the First Nations?*

A: They were not able to, obviously, work out how to come through the 20th century and deal with us. Their population was destroyed by the diseases [introduced by European settlers], which means that they lost their ability to continue their negotiation, and they moved from two million to 300,000 in a very short period of time. To have a population literally reduced like that makes it difficult to ask what they did wrong. The classic Western thing is that we're consistently taking an approach to the Aboriginals designed to show that they're not up to it, or they're a problem—all those racist approaches of the 19th century—and now it's, "How sad what's happened to them, and of course it's partly our fault, but how sorry sad." It's the new way of being racist about Aboriginals.

Q: *What are the alternatives?*

A: One would be to focus on what we can learn. Think of the Arctic, where our approach to the question of sovereignty contributes to



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be very Canadian. We have our claim on the subject of things, the claim of Englishness, which is very dubious since they put Canada and we're not interested in Canada in the least. It also highlights the fact that we aren't really a northern people, if our only claim to the North is through someone like Franklin, who didn't know what he was, or not really, he was just a fool, in Canadian American terms. That way of thinking leads you to the law of the sea, which is a European idea, water separates people, and you basically only own land. In the European tradition, rivers are more a delineator between peoples. But in the Atlantic tradition, rivers are seen to the glass, the highway, the linkage between people, not the separation. And that's the history of Canada: our rivers and lakes were our highways. In the Arctic, the land shipping, water and land are at once, they're an unbroken unity. In the water you travel on the ice because it's the linkage and the carrier way, and in the summer, you move around on the water. We should say, "The real source of Canadian legitimacy and sovereignty in the Arctic is the land, and the land is right to think about water in terms of linkage rather than division." We'll have all the environmentalists behind us, we'll be meeting sovereignty laws in a way that suits a northern country.

Q: So why isn't it happening?

A: Why are we spending taxpayers' money working to find the ship of some British sailors who had nothing to do with Canada, supposed to working on a whole new approach to Arctic sovereignty has been on the Canadian who have been there for thousands of years? When you get down to brass tacks, the more it is that we're not thinking of land as Canadian.

Q: You still tell Canadians that "the Continent" "Who created them, and why?"

A: I think it's an auto-contradiction, the results, again, of not seeing ourselves in terms of our own reality. We had some strong periods where our cities functioned very well, but we don't seem able to sustain it. We had a very interesting period from the Second World War until the late '70s, in terms of politics, business, talking about ourselves internationally. But we seemed to run out of steam and slip back into a reactive, Euro-American approach. Furthermore, when we do succeed, we don't know how to take credit for our successes and build on them. So virtually no one in the world knows that the last land mines (they were a Canadian treaty). We were one of the two leaders of the anti-apartheid movement outside of Africa, half of the last minute, the British, French and Americans, who basically sup-

ported apartheid, moved in and took credit for what we worked on, and we didn't know how to grab hold and hang on. The last national Criminal Code is basically a Canadian project—nobody knows that.

Q: What are the other major policy failures, in your view?

A: There are a lot of problems we've been faced with that are not actually that difficult to deal with, but we've failed to deal with them, and that's a failure of the elites. For example, health care. Our problem was created through a very peculiar social science idea that you could save money by having the services of doctors, nurses, beds and operating rooms. It's a cynical ignorance. The problem isn't that people are sick, but that they think they're sick. Because the hospitals for treating sick people, and they'll go away. The elite has been unable to admit it transformed the crisis through the political and economic decision to limit the essentials. The problem could've been solved already, quite easily, by putting effort into increasing the number of doctors, nurses, beds and operating rooms. It's almost as simple as that. And if I'm wrong, the way to find out was to see whether by creating a surplus, the waiting lists would disappear. But instead we've had endless meetings, endless studies, and endless discussion of whether we ought to adopt a two-tiered, European approach, without any suggestion of how the European system actually works. Having more people going to the private system does not remove the pressure from the public system, it simply removes the commitment to it.

Q: Finland can't be completely attributed to the elites. What about the elections?

A: Democracy of course requires strong demands from the public. The public couldn't have been clearer on health care: election after election, they vote in favour of a single-tier system. And the elite comes back and says, "This is terribly complicated," and busily distracts everyone and goes off in another direction. The same thing with poverty. We don't seem to be able to produce an elite that's willing to deal with it.

Q: You paint a dismal picture of Canadian economic prospects, mainly because of our reliance on commodities and foreign ownership. If there are such big problems, why are so few people seeking the answers?

A: After the five trade debates, people feel the answer is that I don't know any other country where the elite could lead. "Because we're opening up to more trade, therefore it's naive or provincialism to be concerned about ownership." Every other country thought there was a connection between ownership and wealth creation, that's why they have rules limiting foreign ownership

to a much lower level. In Canada, there's a surprising worship of managerialism versus ownership and wealth creation. There's a real problem in this country with believing that management is the answer to our problems. You know, we just sold a major company to Brazil, and the day after tomorrow there was absolutely nothing we could do, this was all part of globalization. Then a few weeks ago, a Canadian company tried to buy a company in Brazil and the Brazilian said no. Period. There wasn't even a debate.

Q: Is there a parallel between what our has not done so far in terms of both open competition in foreign markets, and what the Aboriginal peoples did with the land treaties?

A: If there's a link, it's the lack of a sense that you're actually the elite of a place. Talking to people in other countries, you sense immediately that they understand what their



'We aren't really a northern people, if our claim is through someone like Franklin. He was just a fool.'

responsibility is. Whereas here, there's the sense, "Well, why would we want to own anything? Someone else wants to own it." Am I saying there should be no foreign ownership? No. I'm talking about the desire for risk, desire to own, desire to lead—to be a real business elite, not simply managers and employees. Once you no longer have the ownership, you lose the creative space and the energy you become a manager rather than active capital. This isn't about patriotism, it's about using the marketplace properly. Really, if you believe in capitalism, why would you want to be an employee? ■



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IT'S THE ECONOMY...

Our politicians need to talk about tomorrow's problems—today



ANDREW COYNE

The polls are in the public considers "the economy" the No. 1 election issue, and so it must be. For example, 24 per cent of those surveyed in a recent Ipsos Reid poll said the economy was the issue they most wanted the party leaders to talk about during the campaign, against 10 per cent for health care, and just 11 per cent for the environment.

But what, if anything, does this mean? The "major issue" question is one of those old standbys that politicians feel obliged to ask, and the public feels obliged to answer. But it almost never turns out to mean much. The public has told politicians again and again that "health care" was their single biggest concern, but is there any evidence that it ever decided their vote? Paul Martin claimed to have "fixed" health care for a generation. Last time out the lot of good it did him.

Indeed, for all the public's distrust of politicians that the economy is their most pressing concern, it's hard to square with their actual views about the state of the economy. In an exclusive poll for Maclean's, Angus Reid Strategies found a little deeper into public attitudes on economic matters, on the economy in general, on their own personal situation, and on their expectations of government. The poll found 61 per cent need economic conditions in Canada today as good or very good, 60 per cent expect the economic situation would improve or stay the same over the next year, 68 per cent rated their personal finances today as good or very good, while 80 per cent expected their personal situation would improve or remain the same.

There were some notes of optimism. Just 21 per cent said that now was a good time to make a major purchase, and 51 per cent expressed some concern about the amount of debt they were carrying. But only 19 per cent were worried about losing their jobs, and among a list of possible things to worry about, "falling real estate prices" finished dead last. Fully 84 per cent expect the value of their homes to be the same or higher a year from now. (Perhaps our costs



CANADA MUST address the profound demographic challenge, and not in dollars and cents

story will change their minds.)

And indeed, the statistics support a certain level of public cynicism. By most of the conventional measures, the Canadian economy continues to thrive. Unemployment, at 6.1 per cent, is still lower than in the U.S., while the employment rate, at 65 per cent of the working-age population, is at an all-time high. Inflation has barely moved above three per cent owing to rising food and fuel prices, but expected to fall back into the two to three per cent range. The prime rate is below five per cent.

However, after exaggerating through much of the 1990s, home prices have been growing again, while house loans have been falling, producing gains of 20 per cent in real disposable income per capita in the last decade. The increased purchasing power of the Canadian dollar has helped distribute the benefits of the recovery beyond across the country. Household net worth continues to climb, corporate balance sheets are strong, and the public finances of

the country, once among the weakest in the developed world, are now among the most stable. General government debt has fallen from over 70 per cent of GDP at its peak to less than a third of that level today.

If Canadians remember how the economy on the horizon, it may reflect the influence of events south of the border. That turned in the American financial system has been weeks reached the stage of full-blown crisis, a gut-wrenching implosion of confidence that has already shaken several of the biggest investment banks on Wall Street and threatens to take the economy down with it. The situation is so dire that there is a real concern that a vigorous government response is required, up to and including last week's staggering \$700-billion plan to prop up the American banks, one as dollar rises over its appropriate level. With the index so high, and the policy choice so critical, it was only natural that the economy would come to dominate the U.S. election.

But in Canada? To be sure, we are likely avoid being dragged by any downturn in

the U.S. economy. And while houses may be sold off below anything like their true value in the United States, the market has sensibly cooled in recent months.

But other than a slight tailing off of consumer demand, and some pockets of distress in the manufacturing sector, it's not clear yet that the broader economy is in any unmanageable—and even less clear what governments here could do about it if it were.

So why, exactly, should it be an election issue? How, after all, is it proposed that we should rescue the American financial system? Or convert the Americans? Suppose the worst happens, and the Canadian real estate market undergoes the kind of correction envisaged in our story this week. What do any of the federal parties propose to do about it? Nada, that's what.

Read the Liberal platform, released this week for all the attempts on either side to portray it as a big deal—as a transformational shift in economic policy, if you're a Liberal, a speed-brake recipe for disaster, if you're a Conservative—the document is in fact strikingly cautious, especially for an opposition party. While it proposes \$14 billion more spending, it promises to cut spending by \$12 billion elsewhere in the budget to finance it. Most of the \$20 billion over 10 years the party has promised in free infrastructure spending will still come through as 20 per cent if you count its spending the \$14 billion or so in tax credits the Liberals fairly claim as its tax cuts, that is, a fairly modest effect by the imposition of a new carbon tax, there is no net change in the government's fiscal position—no "stimulus," in the language of unimpressed Keynesians.

The Conservatives, for their part, avoid any mention of how they propose, either in new spending or tax cuts, as an appropriate cautious response in a time of "global economic uncertainty." Even the NDP, by far the most liberal of the three main parties, has proposed to do no more than \$100 billion in new spending. This reads like a lot, until you realize it's over four years. In that time, the federal budget proposed to spend \$121 billion. And again, whatever stimulus we expect this might be assigned to have is sensibly and fully offset by the corporation when the party proposes. Even the NDP has given up on deficit finance.

When it comes to federal strategies available to us as election "tools" to boost the economy? The things that might do some good—namely, forcing the U.S. financial system—out of our hands. And the things we do control, the traditional levers of fiscal and monetary policy, have little impact in the short term. Publicly monetary policy—the judiciously guarded preserve of the Bank of Canada—can have more impact, at least in providing stability

if not in stimulating growth. But fiscal policy? Let's just say we're not that experienced.

The same old issue lies expression in our poll. While a solid majority said it should be the federal government's "duty" to step in to save jobs or stimulate growth in Canada now, the consensus breaks down once you get into specifics. Just 13 per cent would support a deficit "to stimulate the economy," though 16 per cent would tolerate it as the temporary by-product of a recession. Only 25 per cent favour assistance to industry to save jobs, though 40 per cent would

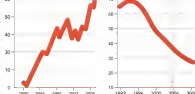
support it in the name of helping Canadian companies "to be more competitive."

If the economy is not especially weak, if the public is not especially concerned about it, and if there is nothing the parties can or would do to help matters, does that mean the economy isn't as bad as it seems? Or that it should not be a hotly

debated political issue, as it is sometimes said, is to represent the future, not the present, new world, a good time to start.

Begin with Canada's strong productivity growth—the subject of innumerable after-dinner speeches, it is true, but no less true for being true. Figures from the Centre for the Study of Living Standards tell the story since 2003, the productivity of Canadian labour—measured by the amount of output per hour worked—has grown by less than one per cent per year, on average. In the same period, labour productivity in the United States grew more than 25 times as fast.

THE GOOD NEWS Canadian families are prosperous, businesses are doing well, public finances are stable and government debt is falling.



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Even in the short term, while there may be much that governments can do to make things better, there is plenty they could do to make things worse. In that sense the "let it do no harm" message may have captured the public mood best.

But it's as the long term that the economy really is in issue, and ought to be discussed. As sound as the macroeconomic "fundamentals" of low inflation and balanced budgets may be in the short term, there remain deep-seated weaknesses and fundamental challenges that must be addressed in the longer term—problems that, as it happens, government can do something about. If the job of

politicians is to represent the future, not the present, new world, a good time to start.

There are more things than the average decline of income. But that look, not sound, but almost as if the demographic crunch that looms in our future, 20, 30, 40 years from now, as the baby boomers retire and age, and go on aging, long after previous generations would have been pushing up the bushes. Again, perhaps you're hard about this already: how instead of five workers the every pensioner, as it presens, there will be only three, and so on. But perhaps you haven't heard just how serious the problem is.

It is commonly reported, for example, that the Canada Pension Plan has been put on a

the additional costs of treating the elderly against the savings expected from fewer children about. The figures show the cost of those programs rising from 14 per cent of GDP today to nearly 30 per cent by the middle of the century, 50 per cent by health care. That's an additional annual cost of \$75 billion in today's dollars—twice that total potential personal-income tax collections—and more than double Ottawa's revenue from the Goods and Services Tax. Add it all up, and that's an estimated future liability of \$1.4 trillion. With a T on top of the unfunded liability in the CPP. On top of the

less. In recent decades, Canada grew, not so much by raising productivity—output per worker—but by increasing the number of workers. To raise productivity, we need to give each worker more and better machinery (to work with, which means more investment). One reason the United States has such higher productivity than us is that they invest more per worker, 14 per cent more, according to the C. D. Howe Institute.

Where to get the money? Higher national savings would help. Household savings have plunged, from 13 per cent of GDP a generation ago to less than two per cent today. But realistically, much of it will be gone from abroad.

That's not to say foreign investment and contract the skilled labour we also need—few demographic change will also mean, increasingly, a shortage of labour—we're going to

This is a constant in the list: more on productivity, the importance of intense local competition. It's again, some of our most critical sectors—telecom, finance, transportation, electricity, to say nothing of public services like health care and education—are enclaves of monopoly and protection.

Any day of the parties talking about any of that. Actually, yes. The Conservatives have put in place quite substantial cuts in corporate tax rates, the Liberals say they would go further. And while the Tories focused their personal tax cuts on the GST, the Liberals would also cut personal tax rates by a per centage point or more. The Tories also introduced in their recent budget tax pay-as-you-go plans—sort of like RSPs in reverse (you get the tax break at the back end, when you withdraw, rather than up front).

In the course of the campaign, the Con-

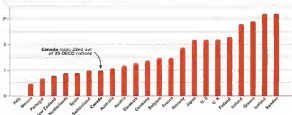


SMOOTH OPERATORS of the Trudeau era: James Richardson, John Turner, Jean Charest and Gérard Bouchard know how to target voters, a tactic now copied by the Conservatives

AND THE BAD NEWS

Productivity growth is anemic, our pension system is underfunded and the cost of treating the elderly is about to explode.

Average annual productivity growth (GDP per hour worked), 1981-2006



sound footing, after the new doubling of pensions the nation's finance ministers engaged a decade ago. Note: This, the reforms avoided an immediate crisis. And yes, the plan is now partly "funded," meaning it has built up an investment nest egg whose returns should help defray the cost of future pensions that it still has the shot of having enough on the till to pay the benefits it has promised. How does that? By \$82 billion short—more than the entire national debt (the one that shows up on the public books), a deficit of government combined. That's the "unfunded liability" of the Canada (and Quebec) Pension Plan, based on calculations by the federal actuary.

But that's only the start. Those aging pensions are going to need a lot of expensive health care. How much? The economist William Hoberg of the C. D. Howe Institute has calculated the probable increases in costs for "demographically driven" programs like health care, education and family benefits, a staggering

official national debt. All told, our real national balance sheet, taking into account the costs those pensions will pay as they draw from their RSPs and private pension plans, would show a net liability of nearly \$1 trillion, or about 160 per cent of GDP. How on earth are we, or rather they, going to pay for all that?

By increasing productivity, that's how. Just raising taxes on future generations isn't going to do it, even assuming they did not rebel or move to another country. That taking steps now to ensure future generations are richer—much richer—than we are will make the burden easier to bear. Just a half-percentage increase in average annual productivity growth, 0.5 per cent, would be enough to cut that future liability in half, relative to GDP.

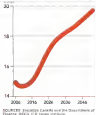
And how to do that? Well, naturally, that's a subject for debate. But since you ask... Go back to that record high employment rate. Believe it or not, that's part of the prob-

lem to get serious about curbing the top tax rates on capital and labour, as before, Sweden and other countries have done. Though rates have come down in recent years, we still have among the highest rates of tax on investments in the developed world.

And we'll have to be willing to accept higher levels of foreign ownership in protected sectors. While Canadians often fret about foreign direct investment (FDI), the OECD rates us as among the more restrictive regimes in the developed world. Many of the countries that are overtaking us have higher levels of FDI than we do. Indeed, the stock of FDI in four countries is higher, relative to GDP, than it is here.

But to really boost productivity, it isn't enough just to give people more capital to work with. You also have to give them an incentive to use it efficiently. That means exposing Canadian firms to the maximum amount of competition—foreign or domestic.

Demographically driven programs



SOURCE: PROJECTED CANADA AND THE OTHER FINES OF FINES: OECD & C. D. HOWE INSTITUTE

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WHAT HAPPENED TO THE LIBERALS?

The party is being outclassed at its own game by the Tories

BY JOHN CROOKS — Consider a political party that's been growing in Ontario for a couple of years with only a parliamentary minority. Its leader is seen as a maverick, aloof, prone to rant, occasionally harsh, and hardly a man of the people. He decides the time is right to force an election anyway, even though grain economic news has gotten warmer. Saddled with the leader's image problem and an overstuffed economic backdrop, what sort of campaign would such a party mount to leap from minority to majority?

Then by magic, the prime minister in a way "continued to make himself as if not fully at least accessible," even once he was "a private father, adoring husband." Next, provide him with a reasonably key platform, make sure it's dramatic, but with the policies aimed at attracting, say, women and the "working middle class." Finally, have him "ride" his main adversary "mercilessly," painting her "enemies" as the most dangerous platform in Canada, particularly given the fragile economy.

This may sound like a sketch of Stephen Harper's position going into this election, and of the Conservative strategy for winning

it. But it's actually drawn from the late Christina MacCall's (now called account of Prime Trudeau's 1974 campaign, remembered by Jon Courts and Keith Tenny, that was back a Liberal majority. All the thing descriptive words and phrases in quotation marks are drawn from MacCall's tale on that election, in her 1980 camp, "Jon Courts and the Politics of Manipulation."

If the classic Liberal approach to manipulative politics has a home in the present context, it seems to be at the Conservative camp. To suggest that Harper's 2008 campaign might be consciously modelled on Trudeau's 1974 run—with Stephen Dion as the hapless Robert Stanfield's role—might be a stretch. But Harper does pride himself on his knowledge of political history, not only talks about the Liberal party's past decisions, and once wrote that it was "disastrous" who "prevailed both the loves and hatreds of my political past." It is too much to imagine that he's now applying long past campaign logic, adopting techniques that kept the hated Liberals as long as power?

There's an essential difference to Harper's campaign, a combination of a cautious platform and under the focus on the voters. And his strategy has been altered as needed to expanding it with him. That does not mean old school Liberal ideas are less evident in Dion's strategy and tactics. In place of the

CAMPAIGN 2008



phoned progression of it, say, the 1994 vintage Trudeau or the 1995 Jean Chrétien, Dion is running on his Green Shift. It's a creative, pragmatic policy, more like Scanlon's sage and price controls, or in-cite a much more successful case of Big League campaign—Brien Mulroney's 1988 five-trade platform.

Figuring out precisely what blocks of voters Dion aims to use over with his conservative-driven message is also tricky. These targets, such as the well-defined, possibly Quebecers ready to ditch the Blue Québécois, and suburbanites, especially suburban ethnic voters in Ontario and B.C. By contrast, a senior Liberal campaign official admitted Dion has been forced to dilute a diffused, multi-front campaign—reading off Tories on his right, the NDP, Greens and even the Bloc on his left. All while delecting about Liberal strongholds. "The Conservatives are running a very targeted campaign," the official said. "We don't quit here, but we're leaving."

Campaigning in this unorthodox way has sunk Liberals to unexpected depths in the polls, as low as 23 per cent in the latest 36 per cent in a recent Harris-Decima survey. It's hardly looked this grim since Wilfrid Laurier first put the party on top, by combining rural strength with overwrought support in Quebec. That basic coalition lasted, with adaptations, until Lester Pearson lost the West and ran Canada to John Diefenbaker there under Pearson, and then Trudeau, as the Liberals repositioned their identity, at just the right time, at the party of booming big cities, especially among immigrants and Catholic voters.

The most consistent ingredients in the Liberal recipe for victory, though, remained Quebec. "The party tilted so much toward

THE TORIES HAVE USURPED THE LIBERALS ON PROFESSIONALISM



LACKING Trudeau's charisma, Dion could be a Pearson-like leader of the Liberal political machine, even if not of order.

Quebec," says University of Waterloo historian John English, who is both a former Liberal MP and a biographer of Pearson and Trudeau, "that it was the source of strength, but also the source of weakness elsewhere." The rise of Mulroney, and then the Bloc Québécois, ended the federal Liberal/Quebec dominance. Still, Chrétien managed to win three national elections without ever fully recognizing his home province, which mainly drew support from urban areas in Ontario.

All this adds up to is a record unrivaled by any party in the democratic Canadian world for its political competitors, the U.S., Britain, and France. For similar party success stories, which reach all the way to

Japan's Liberal Democrats, Sweden's Social Democrats, and the Irish Fianna Fáil. It's no wonder Canada's Liberal Party has been called the longest running Liberal Party since Lester as just a string of wins makes a key point: the party's knack for minimizing the damage of election losses. They've managed to change for deeper and any down for longer. Liberalism has been so strongly strengthened, for instance, Pearson's frustrating run of two losses and two misadventures, and John Turner's two successive defeats.

That resilience is often attributed to superior organizational muscle, bolstered by a dynastic backbone. "It's not enough to have good principles," an *Atlantic* editor. "We must have organization too." But two factors conspired to undermine that tradition in recent years. Firstly, funding happily divided opposition during the Chrétien years killed Liberals into complacency about their command of the moderate middle. Secondly, the drive out split within their ranks, between

the Chrétien and Paul Martin factions, sucked energy into an internal struggle, while the permanent party apparatuses are neglected.

After Martin's defeat in early 2006, a succession of Liberal heavyweights—Frank McKenna, John Manley, Alton Jones—eager not to risk to lead a demoralized party leadership, the Liberals appeared to be without a future. The party's leadership, the unlikely Dion took over last year, on the strength of a pact with Gey and Kennedy, a rank one-up on the federal scene.

As well, Liberals had long before conceded to the re-elected Conservatives a huge lead in computer-based membership growth and

fundraising. Yet an overdue push to catch up, which Dion's leadership was supposed to usher in, hasn't gained much momentum. According to former Liberal national director Steven McKenna, the party has done little to build the centralized database he'd like for waiting out to active and potential supporters. "The best idea of structure of the party has fallen into a gap," McKenna says. "These aren't even hard Liberals—they require actual discipline, management, but they aren't hard disciplinarians."

No matter what happens in this campaign, the Liberal party faces years of work to mend its operations. On the level of election

strategy, it may also need to rethink its campaign for the long run. English says that when Quebec ceased to be the party's suburban, Toronto constituency replaced. The trouble is Quebec has 75 seats (Trudeau took 74 of them in 1996), whereas Toronto has only 45 (which the Liberals won 34 in 2006). "There's still a tremendous bias in Toronto," English says, "to make up for losing Quebec." As a result, Liberals today must dominate the rest of Ontario, too. And that makes the winning Liberal/conservative alliance more regionally unbalanced, and thus more vulnerable, than the regionally based Tory strategy.

Still, beyond questions of election strategy and party organization, Liberals argue they have a fundamental edge: they're more like most Canadian voters. Harper himself admits his party is probably to the right of a "broad majority of Canadians." A survey by the Canadian Election Studies in 2006 found that 35 per cent of Canadians think of themselves as on the right, and 33 per cent on the left—leaving a whopping 32 per cent in the center, and another 20 per cent who don't identify with any band on the ideological spectrum.

Harper makes no secret of his efforts to encroach on traditionally Liberal voters at that fairly defined middle. "Not only do we want to pull Canadians toward conservatism," he recently said, "also Conservatives have to move toward Canadians, if they want to continue to govern the country." His capacity to fundamentally shift voting patterns remains in doubt. What isn't a question any longer is that his Conservatives have usurped the Liberals on the level of political professionalism.

An outmoded Liberal machine, marred by an unconventional leader, on a platform based on conviction rather than calculation, forced to compete for central votes—no matter what the party's identity was—seems a recipe for disaster. Still, tangible and ethereal links to the Liberal past remain. There's Gordon Ashworth, veteran of many winning campaigns, again directing the vote, and another David Smith, answered without, back in harness. There's the way Dion mixes no chance to them consistency with the fiscal prudence of Chrétien and Martin, and with older conservative and party traditions.

And there's the readiness of thoughtful Liberals, stopped in their own glorious hour, to optically meet Dion's agonized Pearson-like figure, his policy crumpled up for what he lacks in political charisma. Of course, Pearson didn't run with the great Liberal campaigner, since a majority always eluded him. But then Dion, given the state of the party, would surely become that relaxed, to-jolly on Oct. 14 for a Pearson-style mix of his own. ■

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

IGGY IN THE MIDDLE

BY AARON HERRICK • As an outdoor job for a construction crew in Toronto, Michael Ignatieff drinks on a makeshift rig and publicly yells his support for the Liberal Party, among other neighborhood activities. He keeps his remarks short, and then goes to shaking hands. There's a guy wearing a T-shirt that helpfully instructs, "Don't feed the beast," and a girlfriend dressed all black, whose head is seen here at "100 per cent. Newfie."

Ignatieff has a strategy put on screen on his hands and talks to a woman who's recruiting volunteers for his year's Santa Claus parade. A moment later, Ignatieff walks fast—he's across the street. He runs into the Newfie again. Then a young boy playing the violin. The Libs NDP? That's a reason from the

IGNATIEFF campaigning in his Toronto riding. "I talked politics all my life, this is politics."



"PEOPLE WILL WRITE WHAT THEY WRITE, AND FRANKLY THEY CAN GO TO HELL."

Harvard Society. Then some firefighters. He lists that. Says it's the "trunk" part of his job. None of which would be that notable if a woman's at it with what he is generally believed about Michael Ignatieff.

"I don't have so far to go, I enjoy meeting people," he says later. "I enjoy the sense of being faithful with someone. I've talked politics all my life, this is politics." It is understood implicitly that Michael Ignatieff is a politician and, therefore, must publicize his life. But otherwise, he is only ever discussed as being above or below the Heisenberg of the Harvard and Canadian Russian royalty in his blood and Canadian ancestry on his name. Or he is in the broad

ing Michael, competing in the shadows toward his political goals. He is either the party's greatest asset. Or its leader's most convincing rival. (Or maybe both.)

In a campaign office at the end of an Esplanade strip mall, he is only the candidate, when one with any campaign business bearing his likeness. His wife, Zsuzsanna Zoltar, works the front desk, greeting volunteers. There are two signs piled high in the backroom, coloured scraps of the rubing on the wall and pens of slogans laid out for hands. Ignatieff pauses to eat, then he's back as a volunteer's end, after a short drive, moving toward a leafy neighbourhood. While he walks, he talks thoughtfully of what it is he does for a living. But he is carefully self-deprecating.

"I talked politics all my life, this is politics."

Whatever his attempts to undermine his own reputation, no member. Last week, after a quiet start to the national campaign, Ignatieff and the other proposed support, he'll then, appeared at Dion's side. This was first intruded in an explicit attempt to outdo Chrétien and then the Resounding Liberal leader. And then it was repeated in nothing less than a plot to "oust" Dion. "You know what I think? It's obvious," he said on the 30 anonymous senior members who populate the Liberal party. Back at his own campaign headquarters,

ina small office with two televisions beaming on the corner, Epstein's is serious now, but collected and blunt. "Look, you're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't," he says. "My view of this is that Dine has

JACK THE TORTOISE

The NDP leader is trudging back into the media spotlight

BY RATE LEAD: Slow and steady doesn't always win the race—but it's a good way to get somewhere. Jack Layton's NDP party is attracting more and more attention in the press, a sign of momentum in building the CNR 34 election team. "The NDP campaign has been relatively successful."

says Stuart Sorokin, co-director of the Media Observatory at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada. "If we want to pick the party that's usually imposing in terms of coverage, it's the NDP."

nounced first in 11 per cent of election articles from Sept. 14 to 20, up from nine per cent in the first week of campaigning, and four per cent the week before. Layton's getting more headlines took last week, he earned six

LATCO is making headlines, more now than 10 years ago.

per cent of first mentions, finally beating Greenparty leader Elizabeth May, who until then was getting more coverage than he was. (First mentions, notes Soroka, are a good way of measuring who's framing the debate.)

Sordich's team uses an automated system to track election coverage in seven daily newspapers: the *National Post*, *Globe and Mail*, *Montreal Gazette*, *Toronto Star*, *Calgary Herald*, *Windsor Star* and *Ottawa Citizen*. After ranking the mentions as positive, negative or neutral, they subtract negative from positive

to come up with a "net score." The NDP's net score improved over the past two weeks, suggesting they're getting more support in the newspapers (So far, the NDP has a net score of +1, while the Conservatives and Liberals both have -0.4. May continues to have the best results of any leader, with +0.6.)

But the papers' increasing focus on the NDP has not come at Stephen Harper's expense. "This campaign is clearly about the Conservatives, and whether other par-

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ties can catch up to them," Worley says. Last week, Harper committed to eliminate media coverage, cut programs that double the number of first mentions that did his rival, Anghelina Dion (36 per cent of articles mentioned Harper first; 36 per cent mentioned Dion). The economy is far and away the defining issue last week, a whopping 55 per cent of election articles measured the economy as important. Yet coverage of the environment, a Liberal staple, has dwindled. While 35 per cent of articles mentioned environment or energy issues in the first week of the campaign, last week just 25 per cent did.



There's a silver lining for the Liberals—their party finally got as much coverage as the Conservatives last week, when both earned 36 per cent of all first-party mentions in the dailies. (The week before, the Liberals got 33 per cent, while the Tories got 35 per cent.) “The

would be relevant, if Harper wasn't all over Don," Soroka says. Indeed, the Liberal party is firing hotter than its leader. Last week Don attracted roughly the same amount of media attention he did in week one of the campaign. For the Conservatives, "holding steady is a good thing," Soroka says. For the Liberals, not so much.

So, should the Liberals be after the same slow growth achieved by the NDP? "I would say no," Soroka says. But far from, "Fast growth would be even better." ■

A photograph showing two workers in a shipyard. They are wearing dark work clothes and blue hard hats. They are standing next to a large, curved metal component, possibly a part of a ship's hull or a large pipe. The background shows various industrial equipment and structures.

Hillbros is already pumping money into the New England economy. The new Harbortown project will add billions more in a few years.

WHEN THE ROCK GETS RICH

Newfoundland will be a 'have' province soon. Poor Ontario.

BY JOHN FRASER • The tarring is a bit arbitrary, but at some point in the next year and a half, the province of Newfoundland and Labrador will slip once from being a "have-not" province to a "have."

What's new about this will represent. The lowest man on the totem pole shooting up past his Atlantic province siblings, past the his-

the sunny economic uplands of Canada, there to sniff the pure, muffled air that has been so unapologetically the right for so long of Ontario and the affluent western provinces.

The project of "Invention" has been around for a few years. Just last February, for example, the award-winning *London Debates* held each year in Toronto featured the prize-winning, "Newfoundland will stick with Canada over Ontario asks." The motion was humorously attacked by the outgoing lieutenant governor of Newfoundland, Edward Roberts, and the former Liberal secretary Brian Tobin. The unkindly distance was mounted by professor Shane O'Dea of Memorial University, something of a Newfoundland nationalist, and the new Newfoundland governor, the redoubtable John Crosbie.

"You poor buggers," said Croshaw to the blue shirted hordes of lawyers, business folk and academics who had gathered at the University of Toronto. "You've got protocols in your streets and tents in your bank's building," he roared, lying on his back. "It's pathetic when you see the reality. Buggers on Bloor Street, company chairman in heaven to drive themselves to work. But here's good news: Newfoundland is going to stick with you, come hell or high water. Even if you all end up on the welfare rolls, we'll side your way." He'll help you taking your notes above the waterline.

The laughter was loud, but there was just a slight edge of sarcasm. That a provincial Newfoundlander could reach Ontario in their own capital was profoundly funny, and also something few there that evening

could have my imagined just-deadened us ago. That's because for generations, Newfoundlanders have been the poster of the poet, the Musicians of North America, the sturdy fishermen and brutal workers (and hunters) of old, the heart of national policy not outside of Canada ever understood.

That catastrophe was not only on the Rock. Surviving a national president for laughing at "Newfies," their friend and master St. John's Evening Telegram editor Ray Cox was written in 1968. "Newfoundlanders, what are we? We're disbelieving artists, slow-witted simpletons, naive, old-fashioned, living in Dogpatch."

the-racks, lower than lower Slobovans, the laughing stock and 'white trash' of Canada. Why one province of Canada should have become the object of scorn and derision at the other nine is a mystery to us. Do we deserve it? If we do, we'd like our fellow Canadians to tell us why. If the fact of inflicting all things British and land continues, it could leave a tear that will take a long time to heal."

Now all that's changing faster than any acid can be peeled off the skin, just as fast as the ever-rising price of oil beneath the Grand Banks can be brought to market. And it is the oil that's primarily doing it, of course. The offshore offshore field has been making Newfoundland for some years to look beyond its cultural net debt (at \$11.6 billion the highest per capita debt in the country) to the brightest future in its long history.

And this, recently, Premier Danny Williams—in some Newfoundland eyes the greatest leader in the Western world since Charles Magna—signed a whole new agreement with four of companies (Chevron, ExxonMobil, Petro Canada and Statoil Hydro) to develop the new Hibernia offshore site, south of the already lucrative Hibernia fields, which will pump billions more into the Newfoundland economy in a few years.

All across the country, and especially in Alberta, where young Newfoundlanders have often reluctantly regrettably buried their lives in life, there is a rising sense of possibility.

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will call the [environment] governor by the house name in place [of the] state, and you will see the times how close farmed at this news. You can tell he wants to say something over the top. That's how John Crosbie, and many Newfoundland politicians before him, manage to get heard. So actually watching Lieutenant Governor John Crosbie trying to choose his words carefully is akin to watching a politician in a suit and tie. But the Queen's men couldn't accept Crosbie's hawk-like behavior as a campaigner because his rhetoric is different: more cautious, behind a cynicism. It doesn't come naturally to him, but he is trying. "I may sound strong, come along from a Senator's position," he said in a Government House news conference the day after Williams announced the Hubron deal, "but our hope is Newfoundland is that politicians don't screw up the fishery. I don't want any particular policies, I mean politics of government, at all levels. If the end result is a compromise, and acknowledged responsible [the] Rose at Memorial are pretty much it is, then I will be satisfied." Crosbie is of course pleased with the fishery as we are with our other: Grosvenor, national resources.

"Will we keep an eye to the long term for an oil well blow-a-vert-a big blast like a crash lottery winner? There must some positive signs here that Newfoundland has learned from the errors of the past, which is good because you know the oil bonanza isn't going to last forever—10 to 15 years if we are lucky. All Newfoundlanders need to work on a crash

comprehensive vision. It's not just up to the government of the day, although it has to do its part in the lead. It's great if the coal industry really is coming back, but we also know we've had to kill it off, and if we start overfishing again that's what we'll do, we'll blow it."

Crocker built Newfoundland as much more than an "insurance company." For the first

"What's new? We've been helping you out for a long time," said the governor, and put a hand of a right smile. "We do you there has been keeping Quebec off on all these years with that cheap electricity? We'd like to help Ontario too, I'm sure."

The mischievous twinkle in his eye also comes with a deadly earnest concern for Newfoundland doesn't screw up as good to come. Stephen Harper and Danny Williams may think the Queen's man is like a coddled caught in a net of constitutional intricacy but I don't see anyone who's around the governor if the clouds they're blowing it. ■

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Pay-as-you-go pilot cuts wait times



LAST YEAR four hospitals tried a new payment model. It's working

BY NANCY MACDONALD • In late 2007, four Vancouver area hospitals quietly switched to a radical new funding model. Instead of receiving an annual operating budget from the government, they would be paid per procedure performed. Almost a year into the pilot, the preliminary results are in—and they're good. "In some cases we are seeing over a 10 percent more patients experiencing shorter wait times in the emergency department," says Dr. Goodwin, president of Vancouver Coastal Health, which runs several of the hospitals in the pilot.

One of the primary goals of the new system is to shorten wait times. Because hospitals are paid per procedure, the more procedures they perform each month, the more money they get. The new system also provides bonuses for speedy care. For instance, if a broken bone is treated in less than four hours, a hospital could get an extra \$100.

The incentives seem to be working. At the hospitals taking part (Laure Gate, Richmond; Vancouver General and St. Paul's), the number of patients getting a bed in 10 hours or less jumped from 46 per cent in the first half of 2007 to 66 per cent this year. Laure Gate saw a particularly big leap in efficiency with the number of urgent care patients treated and released in less than two hours surging from 39 per cent to 51 per cent.

"If you give someone all the money up front, every patient who comes along is just a loss to you—they're just using up your money," says Brian Day, the former head of the Canadian Medical Association. "That's bad management. It doesn't encourage productivity."

B.C. is now considering a wider shift to society-based funding. It's not the only province. In January, New Brunswick announced that it is also considering society-based funding, and, according to Day, so is Quebec.

A smart new way to save the fisheries

ST PETER SHAWN TAYLOR - The solution to saving the world's fish may lie in giving fishermen greater ownership of the seas, according to a new study in the journal *Science*. Whether Canadians agree or not may depend on which coast they live on.

Conventional fishing goes to lead to a "race to fish," in which everyone hauls away fish out of the water as quickly as possible. For example, group-quotas pushed Alaskan halibut fishermen to express their wishes in only a three-day fishing effort that stripped the seas bare, lowering prices and left a number of fishermen dead. Individual transferable quotas (ITQs), on the other hand, guarantee fishermen a fixed share of a poorly quota and allow them to sell this right to others. With catch shares properly rights in place, argues economist Christopher Conant of the University of California (and co-author of the *Science* study), "fishermen have a financial incentive to take the long-term view."

"Having an ITQ is like owning a house versus renting an apartment," says Corallo. "If you own it, you're going to take better care



INDIVIDUAL
quotas help
prevent mud
fishing collapse

Given recent trends suggesting the world's major fisheries could collapse by 2048, Conall's evidence seems welcome relief.

Costellings Canada is already "a world leader" in underpinning salmonid benefits from their under adoption. The D.C. halibut fishery, for instance, was one of the first in North America to use the system in 1991. It's been so successful that Alaska adopted a similar program to fix its own halibut fishery. Not individual quotas were also in place in New Brunswick when the cod disappeared in '92. The problem there was quite a bit too high for political reasons: "Around the world, catch shares work extremely well," says Costello. "But we still need to get the science right."

Several Muslim groups and clerics have denounced the foundation and its members. Critics called the Muslim Governance Initiative, the largest umbrella organization of Muslim groups in the U.K.—some of which have close ties to the Pakistani Islamist group Jamaat-e-Islami and the Muslim Brotherhood. One critic, Abu Khader (Abdul Wahid), an imam in Birmingham who preaches the orthodox Sunni strain of Islam, believes the endorsement of al-Qaedi can best be combated by teaching traditional, orthodox Islam. He rejects the Quilliam Foundation's call for a modern British Islam and described Islam as "Muslims as a 'tribe'" and "Islamic values." Muslim leaders have also attacked the Quilliam Foundation and the similarly moderate Salfi Muslim Council. The headline in a recent Guardian newspaper column by Saadun Mubini describes both groups as "crypto and strong" of the British government.

But Hasan, who regularly receives nasty emails and the odd death threat from other Muslims because of his stance, says it is his religious and concern for his future that drives him. "There is a battle going on for the heart and soul of Islam," he says. "It's a question of our faith. The Quran and Islam are very dear to my heart. I'm a believer, like the fundamentalists I support. They're very passionate about their interpretation of Islam. I'm very passionate that Islam has to be understood in a very generous and wonderful and balanced way. So the very nature of our faith and how it's practiced and perceived is at stake here in the West. That's why I perceive. The stakes are very high."

The Quilliam Foundation claims it does not receive financial support from the British government, although it adds it would welcome such funding as long as it came with no strings attached. The British government, for its part, is funding a number of Muslim groups and organizations that say they are working to de-radicalize their communities in Britain. The Home Office made available another \$15 million for projects that "undermine extremist ideology" by "amplifying mainstream voices." The Metropolitan Police Service's Muslim Contact Unit is another example of efforts by British authorities to win over Muslim communities and marginalize extremist voices within them.

By winning the hundreds of mosques, community organizations and lobby groups, whom should the government and police be supporting and siding, officials worry? It's a difficult and important question. The British government has been heavily criticized in the past for prioritizing the Muslim Council of Britain and accepting its claims to represent mainstream British Muslims. "But his

people who were essentially Islamists walking in and out of Downing Street, up and down Whitehall, pretending to be ordinary Muslims," Ed Husain said in an interview with McClintock's last year. On the other hand, it was only to support the most liberal of British Muslim voices, does the government not run the risk of isolating large numbers of Muslims? As long as an organization is opposed to blowing up railways in London, does it really matter who its members feel about the Palestinian question, Kashmir, Sha-

"One must take a pragmatic approach," says Paul Courtchank, the New York University fellow. "Just because you might not agree with everything these groups espouse doesn't mean they can't be incredibly helpful in being extreme. Given the severity of the threat in the United Kingdom right now, [denouncing these groups] is probably not the right thing to do."

Hasan Mubini is not sure. "I don't accept the conveyor belt idea that Islamism or Wahabism or Salafism leads to terrorism," he



UTHMAN HASAN at the al-Farooq Mosque in London, a secret House of Prayer

in law, or whether women should leave the house without a veil?

British authorities appear ready to come down. In 2005 police teamed up with the Muslim Association of Britain, an arm of the Islamic Muslim Brotherhood, to remove a group of al-Qaedi supporters who had taken over the North London Central Mosque in Finsbury Park. The extremists were followers of Abu Hamza al-Masi, a one-eyed, bearded cleric who urged Muslims to kill "infidels," a derogatory Arabic term for non-Muslims. When interviewed by this reporter in 2002, Abu Hamza explained his rhetoric by saying he was simply citing Muslim law. He is now serving a seven-year prison term for soliciting murder and inciting racial hatred. Under his leadership, the mosque had served as a refuge for jihadists, including fugitives, who camped out as in a bastion. It is now unquestionably a more peaceful place. But as we stand just a group of radical extremists quietly strengthening a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, one of the world's largest and most powerful Islamist groups?

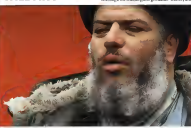


says. "But it does contribute to the social media, this sympathy for suicide bombings, for example. You find a lot of sympathy for this kind of nonsense." He adds that even non-violent Islamist parties are too often viewed with a foreign agenda, which prevents integration into the larger British society and stunts debates on how Islam in Britain should evolve.

Hasan says this while strolling down Edgware Road last night after hosting a gathering of mostly young Muslims to be greeted by a screen of the July 7 attacks and a Mus-

lim doctor who treated some of the victims Edgware Road is a main street in central London with a large Arab presence and many small restaurants offering kebabs, Turkish pide, and other affordable Middle Eastern food. A handful of evangelical Christians are spread out along one stretch of sidewalk and call to passersby in Arabic, offering a "free gift," which turns out to be copies of the New Testament in Arabic. Muslim sales are, largely shortly and ask if they have copies of the Quran.

EVENUALLY, INEVITABLY, THERE WILL BE A PLOT THAT THE AUTHORITIES WILL MISS



ABU KAMEL AL-MASRI urged Muslims to kill "infidels"—a derogatory term for non-Muslims

One of the many counter-terrorism projects supported by the British government is led by the chairman of a mosque once frequented by Richard Reid, the so-called shoe bomber who is now serving a life sentence for attempting to blow up an American Airlines jetliner in December 2001, and Zakaria Moazzam, also serving a life sentence for conspiring to kill American passengers on the 9/11 attacks. Abdul Haq Baker is the founding director of STREET, a de-radicalization program aimed at Muslim youth deradicalized of being seduced by al-Qaedi's jihadist rhetoric.

He's also the chairman of the British

Mosque in south London. Many who wish to join the mosque are converts to Islam, and this has attracted several notorious extremists over the years. Abdul Aziz al-Faisal, jailed and then deported from Britain for soliciting the murder of Jews, Americans, and Hindus, provided him in the 1990s, until Baker kicked him out after a tense episode in which some of al-Faisal's followers carried weapons. Abu Hamza also tried to make trouble here but was rebuffed by Baker, along with both men who nevertheless refused to see violence against extremist clerics and their armed supporters. He convinced al-Faisal to leave by shaming off dissidents in the mosque as al-Faisal was unable to see. He expelled al-Faisal's extremist supporters after suspecting Moazzam had become irreversibly radicalized.

Baker's latest project seeks to engage extremists and change their minds. The program involves about 120 young Muslims. Some of the weekly activities are not explicitly religious. They play soccer and bow. But Baker, who has studied in South Africa and speaks each of the two there, also fights al-Qaedi's message in theological grounds. Baker, and

later studied law and is now pursuing a doctorate at the University of Essex. He's an energetic man who preaches his educated argument of speech with the calm but heated Cockney slang, such as "give." But Baker also preaches the conservative belief system of Islam that is prevalent in South Africa and other Gulf states. He believes Muslim orthodoxy is a strong defense against al-Qaedi's ideology, and although he says he likes Umar al-Hassan, he thinks al-Hassan's drive for a more modern, British Islam is misguided. He describes the Quilliam Foundation as the "liberal extreme" and says its members are always ready to oppose the government. He mentions that the current opposition of Quilliam to British Muslim modernism such as Hasan and Ed Husain, but it's difficult to see how their opposing views of how the faith should be taught can be reconciled.

A long journey on the Victoria Line will take a traveler out of Britain, with its streetwise market stalls and West Indian food shops, where Abdul Haq Baker runs his STREET project, across the Thames River and through the trendier neighborhoods of central London, before finally arriving in Leyton, another working-class London suburb where David Beckham grew up and which is now home to large numbers of immigrants from South Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. Here, on street signs and walls across from Kashmir Hair Dressers on Lea Bridge Road, someone has affixed homemade placards that say, "Only Muslims, don't vote." Several women walking nearby wear hijabs that cover their faces.

Hasid Qaedi and his two brothers, Imran and Abdul Javed, worked in this suburb for decades, running successful car garages and becoming deeply involved with radical extremist groups that were present in the area. They also headed extremists in Afghanistan, and in 2002, following the overthrow of the Taliban, the three brothers decided that al-Hassan should go to Afghanistan himself. He is now reluctant to discuss the details of what happened, but he admits he was returning on the edge of becoming a jihadist. The experience changed his life.

"I need to be very careful about what I say," Qaedi, a barrel-chested man in his early 40s, told McClintock. "Whatever you go into the details of why I went and where we were, what was important to understand is, through that experience, through that personal roller coaster, we had a unique experience of how violent extremists work, and the tools they use to recruit young people. What I signed up for wasn't what I saw in Afghanistan. I signed up to prevent the loss of innocents. What I saw were old men, children,

who weren't just being attacked by Western forces. There was a lot of chaos and confusion. It was very difficult to determine who was right and who was wrong."

Qadir returned to Leyton determined to stop young Muslims from following in his footsteps. His brother supported him. They sold their garage and opened a youth centre and gym. The enterprise is called the Active Change Foundation. Qadir and his brother invite former gang members and Islamic scholars to speak at the centre. They have organized pool tournaments between young people and police and hosted a trip to the Lake District in north-west England for 18 young Muslims and three police officers. Amodanmanti teaches the youth soccer tactics both Arabic and respectful etiquette.

There are still extremists active in Leyton, Qadir says. They can best be contained, he believes, through a combination of theology and street smarts. "You need to have someone who can talk to the young men who have told us they participate in violence," he says. Another leading member of the foundation, Mike Jarvis, was a gangster before becoming a successful businessman. His personal mission is to denounce and educate anyone who may not understand what it feels like to be poor, poor, and angry.

Qadir voices some government funding. But he and his brother have also poured their own savings into the foundation. "I've lost everything. I've had," he says. "But I've gained a lot. Now there's a better understanding of what is real and in. Before, I used to think that anyone outside Muslim, defending him is real and in. This is our place—the Active Change Foundation. Changing lives for the better, instilling communication. There are Muslim suffering from drugs, prostitution, people every day facing disaster. Preventing that is our job."

But Muslims who are actually violent—Muslim extremists—deserve people like Chama Hassan, Ed Hassan, Abdul Hakeem, and Irfan Qadir—we see the loudest or more dominant voices in the

MANY OF THOSE TAKING ON EXTREMISTS WERE ONCE RADICALS THEMSELVES



EVEN NON-VIOLENT parties have a foreign agenda, which prevents integration

Earlier this summer, a massive, four-day event called Islam Expo was held at London's Olympia exhibition centre. The event was sponsored by the London Development Agency and was widely promoted as a showcase for the Muslim community in London. Much of it, especially the food, art and entertainment, was pleasant, and some speakers with diverse opinions were welcomed. But Islamists were prominent. Aslam Tamara, a vocal Islamic supporter and unofficial spokesperson, was featured in at least three seminars and seminars and a reportedly listed as a director of Islam Expo Limited. He has praised suicide bombings in Israel as "legitimate struggle" and " Jihad." Another notable speaker, the journalist Iwan Hilly, converted to

Islam after she was captured by the Taliban in 2001, and has since praised the late Osama Bin Laden as the Chechen saint responsible for the massacre of schoolchildren in Beslan, a martyr. Many of the displays featured accounts of Israeli atrocities against Palestinians. Iran's embassy had its own booth.

A panel discussion titled "Radicalism: A failure of multiculturalism?" never really got off the ground, because most of the panelists couldn't agree whether radicalism existed in British Muslim communities or, if it did, if it was a bad thing. Only Aslam Abbas, a columnist at the independent newspaper, disagreed. She said that radicalism among British Muslims is real and growing. Members of her generation, those who immigrated decades ago, are more likely to have non-Muslim friends than their children. And she challenged British Muslims to ask themselves why 800 immigrants, who arrived in Britain at the same time as Muslim Bengalis and Pakistanis, have thrived while so many South Asian Muslims have not. The audience response was polite but reserved.

Umar Hassan, the imam and astronomy aficionado who was once a Jihadist in Afghanistan, it used to be a similarly angry, if not outright hostile reaction to his calls for a more moderate, modern version of Islam. But despite the fact that he is a government-funded, despite even the death threats, Hassan remains hopeful about the future of British Islam. The challenge, he says, is massive. But he's confident that the struggle for the heart and soul of his faith in Britain will end well.

"You have to be an optimist if you're a person of faith. God is a spirit of hope," he says. "I'm very optimistic that enlightened and deep and balanced version of Islam will be in harmony with its core values and energy, and is already emerging in Western British Islam. And that will win out, because the alternatives are just not viable in the long run." ■

BRITAIN'S PILGRIM DANCERS WON'T BE SO PIOUS

Town council in Plymouth says they're powerless to stop a new festival from opening when the city's Muslim community in England to make their historic pilgrimage in America. The "Pilgrim Sports Bar" is set to open, including pole-dancing. Says a spokesman for the local licensing committee: "These venues are being licensed for dancing—but what isn't specified is how many clothes the dancers have on."



Let's Give of Canada

thanks & giving

Imagine what we can achieve together!

Let's Build a New Canadian Tradition

by Julia Howell

There is a new tradition building across Canada. While family and friends are gathering this Thanksgiving weekend to celebrate and share all that they are thankful for, Inspire Canada invites Canadians to join a new tradition of giving back, called Thanks & Giving.

Through this new initiative, Inspire Canada, the national charity that "looks out and sees for Canada's charities and nonprofits," aims to grow financial support for Canada's charitable sector.

Every Canadian in every community across our country is touched in some way by the work of nonprofit-based charitable organizations. They clean our streets, educate our children, research cures for diseases, promote physical activity, protect

our cultural heritage, feed the hungry and provide emergency and disaster relief services. Their work helps build vibrant, healthy communities for all Canadians.

To get you in the spirit, we've compiled some giving stories from across the country along with tips and information on charitable giving. We hope they inspire you to join this new Canadian tradition. Make Thanksgiving your time to give thanks by giving back to the community charities that make Canada strong.

You Give. We Thank.

When you have made your donation online, we write you to send you our Reflections Story. Tell us why a charity or cause is important to you and how you

support it. We will pick one winning story to receive \$5,000 to donate to the registered charity of your choice. See the You Give, We Thank Contest page in this supplement for further details.

Thanks & Giving starts this Thanksgiving weekend.

It's easy and fast! All it takes are three simple steps:

1. Reflect on charitable causes that are important to you, your family and your community.
2. Share with family and friends.
3. Go to www.thanksgivinggiving.ca to donate.





Canadian Cancer Society
Société canadienne
du cancer

You can't change cancer on your own. Neither can we.

We're closer than ever to treating and preventing cancer – thousands more Canadians are surviving diagnosis each year. And thanks to research, the numbers are growing.

World-class research needs support

To date, donations to the Canadian Cancer Society have helped contribute more than \$1 billion to research. Out 257 researchers across Canada are changing the treatment and prevention of cancer forever.



ONTARIO

Dr. Ikuo Fumoto was recently named Kyoto Prize Laureate by Japan's Naorin Foundation for his work in understanding how cells communicate and control each others' behaviour through chemical signals. His discovery has significantly advanced cancer treatment and prevention.



NOVA SCOTIA

Dr. Patrick Lee has tracked DNA-damaged cells through a protein called p53. This protein tells DNA to stop dividing and repair itself to avoid the cell division that can cause cancer. This discovery is an essential building block for cancer research strategies and will drive progress in cancer prevention.



ALBERTA

Dr. Carol Goss has developed breakthrough research in anti-cancer drugs for lung, breast, and colorectal cancers. Dr. Goss, winner of the Robert L. Noble Prize, continues to develop the cancer-fighting potential of these drugs.

With your help, we can continue to fund the best researchers in Canada

Society funded research has impacted every Canadian touched by cancer. We're closer than ever to better treatment, diagnosis and prevention strategies. But – more funds are needed. A gift today or a bequest tomorrow will benefit all Canadians.

Contact your community Canadian Cancer Society office or visit cancer.ca/research2008 to find out how you can help.

Cancer Research MILESTONES

1970

Screening with Pap smear decreases cancer deaths

1980

Stem cell discovery changes approach to bone marrow transplants

1990

Society-funded researcher wins Nobel prize

2000

Direct cancer researches reduced by almost 10 per cent

TODAY

Newly raised cancer treatment researches survival by 15 per cent

Change cancer forever.
Support NOW.

The Giving Passion

A lot has changed at the Macnab Opera since it first made the acquaintance of Jeanne Dubberley. Back in 1983 Jeanne was one of two staff in a basement office with a cash catalogue and an IBM Selectric. Fundraising letters were photocopied to read out in duplicate.

When the board of directors "ferried them to join the computer age," as Jeanne tells it, she was let go. "They moved to bigger offices, hired more staff and a lot changed," she says. "But the product didn't. It remained exquisite. It was everything anyone could have hoped for in a live performance."

From that point forward she shifted her role seamlessly from employee to supporter. For the past 16 years Jeanne has been an annual subscriber and donor. When she started out in her new role the company was facing a period of severe financial difficulty so she would contribute a little extra by soundproofing the pace of her season tickets. Later she took to thinking special gifts in honour of individuals who were making or had made a difference in the life of the opera.

She made one tribute donation she made in honour of Anne Kirk who, with her wife Patty, were long-time supporters of the opera and "every art activity in the city." Jeanne recalls how the Kirks would "huddle down to the office" always making their donations in person.

And when living Catherine, the "father of opera in western Canada," was being honoured at a high-profile fundraising event for the opera, though she couldn't attend it Jeanne changed the purchase to her credit card. "I couldn't miss it," she says without a moment's regret.

What started as a child witnessing her mother donating to CBC's *Saturday Afternoon* at the Opera has grown into a lifelong passion. Lucky for the Macnab Opera, some things never change. "I just can't imagine not having opera in my life," she says.

Alexei Gagin and Miroslava Hrusanova in Macnab Opera's world premiere of *Traut of Venus*, November, 2007. Photo: Al Fowler

The Power of One Gift



A project that helped teach refugee kids to use their look art to tell the story of their difficult journey to Canada. Photo: David Tshup Brown Cooper

She had a novel idea and heartfelt concern for women living in poverty on the Vancouver of her day. In 1943 secretary Alice MacKay made a \$1,000 donation to the Vancouver Welfare Federation, the city's precursor to the United Way.

But she didn't just make a one-time gift. MacKay was ahead of her time. She requested that the gift be instead so that it would generate income that would keep on giving.

When industrialist and Federation board member W.J. VanDusen caught wind of the plan he immediately jumped on board adding \$50,000 himself and inviting nine other business leaders to do the same. With \$101,000 the Vancouver Foundation was born.

"She was a smart business woman," says Jany Wightman, the current President and CEO of the Foundation. "That

"YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE A MILLIONAIRE TO CREATE A LEGACY GIFT"

\$100,000 is now \$780 million. That is what Miss MacKay's gift has leveraged."

The story of Alice MacKay's astute generosity is strongly embedded in the Foundation's people sixty-five years later. Funding to the Vancouver Public Library came attached with a condition that a room would be named after Alice MacKay and her legacy gift is part of the very structure of these endeavours.

"You don't have to be a millionaire to create a legacy gift," says Wightman. In fact, with \$1,000 a fund can be opened at the foundation. Currently, they have 20 start-up funds, among them the Jany Wightman fund. Wightman says she looks forward to the day her personal fund reaches \$50,000, the point at which there will be sufficient interest to start granting to charitable organizations.

Today the Vancouver Foundation is the largest of 160 community foundations in Canada. In 2007, in partnership with six donors, it distributed almost \$50 million to 363 charities and communities.



Make a difference today.
www.thanksgiving.ca

A NEW CANADIAN tradition

Raising the Stakes

One Parent's Story to Nurture Giving

Like many parents, Lesene Hennessey-Kennedy was looking for ways to encourage her children to be well-behaved. But her take on one tried-and-true strategy takes being good to a new level.

When her children were six and eight, Lesene initiated a weekly allowance. While teaching financial literacy and responsibility she also saw an opportunity to introduce a new value set.

Borrowing an idea from a friend, she created a rewards system with poker chips. While chips valued at ten cents are doled out for domestic chores like bed-making and cleaning the table, the more valuable red chips (fifty cents) are granted for doing something nice when asked, like helping carry in the groceries or sitting quietly when mom is making work phone calls. But the most valuable blue chips are worth one dollar and acknowledge acts of unprompted generosity by the children.



Lesene with daughter Lily, son Damon and Lily's friend Anna who are husband and then adopted from her love of the charity, their local Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA).

When the efforts tallied and funds distributed at the end of the week, Lesene's kids were eager to spend their awards. "This wasn't really the behaviour I was hoping to teach them," she says. So she added a new component to encourage them to save, matching dollar-for-dollar the money they had earned and sur-

passed it for their bank accounts.

But her final move took behaviour modification to new heights. For every dollar the children donated to a charity of their choice, she provided an additional dollar thereafter making charitable giving a natural part of the financial management lesson.



COMMUNITY CHAMPIONS

Building Vibrant Communities



Make a Plan and Make a Difference

Generosity need not be spontaneous. In fact, a little forethought can go a long way in Vancouverian Brian Stendel has discovered. He recalls his first experience with charitable giving: "When people called they automatically gave \$200." Then the calls picked up, going from once a month to several times a week. "It was becoming a nuisance and at the end of the year I realized that I was giving more than I wanted to and to someone in particular."

At this point Brian and his wife Karen Petryk decided to become more strategic about their philanthropy. They began looking at which charities had personal meaning for them.

While he describes himself as not being very religious, supporting their local synagogue emerged as a priority. "We believe in doing what we can to keep the synagogue alive," says Stendel.

In addition to giving locally, they also support causes in Israel through the United Jewish Appeal. These, among a number of other causes, form what he refers to as their "core" organizations, meaning that they support them year after year. In fact,

their group of core charities has been receiving annual donations from the couple for at least 15 years. "It's automatic," says Stendel.

As a fundraiser Stendel's spouse has seen some fluctuations over the years,



See the Children

Canada's game is for everyone.

Last year, the 4th Annual Brad Richards Rocketthon was held at twelve P.E.I. minor hockey associations. The event sponsors included Richards, of the Dallas Stars, the Quebec Major Junior Hockey League's P.E.I. Rocket and Scotiabank.

Overall, the skate-a-thon raised a record-breaking \$111,265. Branch employees raised over \$15,000, along with the Team Scotia Community Program, which contributes to funds raised by Scotiabank employees.

These donations went to equipment, ice time and other necessities for the teams of P.E.I.'s minor hockey associations. The players themselves supplied the intense desire to play and compete.

"The love of hockey begins with the kids and that's what makes this such a great event."

James Godwin, Branch Manager,
Scotiabank Sherwood P.E.I. Branch

Every day, Scotiabank employees across Canada work to make a difference in their communities. We're proud to help make people's lives better, on and off the ice.

Scotiabank Hockey

You're richer
than you think.

Scotiabank Group

Thanks & Giving is an initiative of Imagine Canada to encourage philanthropic giving in Canada. Imagine Canada is a national charity that looks into and out for Canada's charitable and nonprofit sector.

Thanks & Giving partners:

Imagine Canada

CanadaHelps.org
Giving made simple

MACLEAN'S



Lynda Wilson-Smith, Provincial Fund Development Co-ordinator, Kidney Foundation of Canada, NB Branch
Photo credit: David Burton

The New Brunswick branch of the Kidney Foundation of Canada has one of the oldest chapters in the country. "There's a lot of pride here," says Lynda Wilson-Smith who manages the fundraising for the branch. "New Brunswickers are good givers," she adds to demonstrate her point.

She explains how they continue to have some of the highest rates of fundraising success relative to the size of their population, attributing it in large part to their annual spring campaign. Local volunteer canvassers lead the effort and come back year after year, canvassing the streets where they live and are known.

"Donors know it's the assistant principal or a town councillor or the

Imagine Canada Information Supplement

pharmacist down around the corner so they trust them. It's all very grassroots around here."

The approach may be grassroots but the results are anything but. Their branch raises around \$500,000 annually and more than 90% of that comes from individuals. More than half of that total stems from their March door-to-door campaign, comprising gifts of anywhere from \$2 to \$35. "Rain drops filling the pond" is how Wilson-Smith describes the cumulative impact of this support.

In addition to cash donations, events and product sales are another way that individual donors support the work of the organization. Today the branch is re-evaluating some of their tried-and-

true activities like chocolate sales in favour of initiatives they consider more appropriate for a health-based charity, such as what she refers to as "athons," fun physical activity that brings the community together. "They recognize that keeping in touch with the members of their core supporter is fundamental to the organization's success. About half the funds raised from donors go to the national office for research, education about kidney disease and organ donation. The rest stays in the community to provide peer and professional support for people coping with illness related to kidney failure.



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CANVASSERS
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AND COME BACK
YEAR AFTER YEAR"**

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Youth in Philanthropy Opening Doors to a Bigger World

Twenty-year-old Melissa Oakley demonstrated an early propensity toward philanthropy. On Halloween when most children would collect pennies for Unicef as an afterthought to the haul for goodies, Melissa would bring home a motherload of three full boxes of coins.

"I've always been that way," she says without even a hint of self-pride. "It just struck a chord with me."

The music metaphor is particularly apt since her big introduction to philanthropy came from a friend she met at band camp. He introduced her to a program run by Community Foundations of Canada that is mobilizing youth leadership in philanthropy.

Through Youth in Philanthropy Canada, youth advisory committees have been set up in 55 communities across the

country. At her local community foundation, Melissa, along with a group of other young people, raise money and make grants to youth initiatives in the central Okanagan region of British Columbia.

Melissa joined the committee when she was 16 and in Grade ten. She says that a lot of her friends were volunteering, but she was looking for more. After attending an initial meeting, the potential of philanthropy grabbed her. It was hooked," she says.

Melissa saw a world of opportunity open up to her. While volunteering for any cause in

clearly worthwhile, she was attracted to the scope that philanthropy could offer. "It is so much bigger. It focuses on the needs and not just in one area," Melissa explains how her eyes were opened to a

**SHE WAS
ATTRACTED TO
THE SCOPE THAT
PHILANTHROPY
COULD OFFER**



huge spectrum of community need and activity — from animal welfare, education, health and arts and culture. She explains how it "helps diversify your interests." But first and foremost it was the chance to "help better the community" that drew her in.

Melissa now chairs the youth council and spends at least ten hours a week adjudicating grants, developing the website, fund raising and networking, always retooling. Most of all she says it is the people that keep her engaged — her fellow members, those in the community who benefit from their grants and all the connections that she makes with people in nonprofits, government and business. One contact, a lawyer who sits on the board of the Foundation, has inspired her to pursue a career in law. When she puts out her shingle one day she expects that part of her practice will involve charity work. No surprises there.

One of Melissa's Favourite Projects: Mayor's Youth Forums

Melissa's group made a grant to the City of Kelowna to start up a series of gatherings that brought youth to the municipal decision-making table. Secondary school leaders came together with the mayor, city council members and bureaucrats to discuss community issues. A series of forums were developed on a range of topics, from arts and culture to transportation. According to Melissa the forum on transportation yielded tangible improvements to the public transit system in Kelowna with more frequent buses and express routes. "It's an amazing opportunity for youth to have their voices heard," she says passionately.



**Nicole was on life support
with a severe brain injury.**

**Today, she's on the beach
with her family.**

Children's Miracle Network is an organization dedicated to saving and improving the lives of kids like Nicole by raising funds for children's hospitals. Each year, the 14 Canadian Children's Miracle Network hospitals provide the finest medical care, life-saving research and preventive education to help millions of kids overcome diseases and injuries of every kind.



To find out how you can help kids like Nicole in your community, visit childrensmiracletnetwork.ca

Because more women than men
suffer from undetected heart disease.

Because women are
twice as likely as men
to experience darkness on

Because young women are the
fastest growing group affected
by non-melanoma skin cancer.

Isn't it about time the world
had 500,000 sq. ft. dedicated
to women's health?

We think it is.

In fact, since we began nearly a century ago, Women's College Hospital has had a single mission: groundbreaking advances in women's health.

Just look at our track record: The hip list. The first Cancer Detection Clinic in Ontario. The first in Ontario to use mammography. The first Women's Cardiovascular Health Initiative and the first Perinatal Intensive Care Unit in Canada.

Our breakthrough diagnosis and state-of-the-art treatment have been possible because of you. Careless donors have always helped make women's health a priority.

Today, the stakes are even higher. New science is uncovering a startling reality. Simply, men and women are not the same when it comes to health. The good news is, we're building a new state-of-the-art facility that will redefine how we think about women's health. It will be a place of new discoveries, new models of care, and new ways of learning.

We thank you for your steadfast support. And we ask you to continue to enable Women's College Hospital to provide women with the health care they deserve.



Women's College Hospital

new thinking

Where Should I Give? A Profile of Canada's Charitable Sector

With more than 80,000 charities in Canada, this sector is large, diverse and vibrant. When combined with nonprofit organizations, the numbers reach 150,000 making our nonprofit sector the second largest in the world.

These key community organizations weave an intricate web of supports and services that touch the lives of all Canadians and shape our country's identity and values. From local sports clubs to environmental cleanup initiatives, art galleries to cross phone lines, nonprofits are driven by a mission to serve the public good.

Which organizations to support and how is your decision alone. But to help you in the process here is a brief overview of the range of work carried out in this vital sector.

Arts & Culture

Dance, music, theatre, visual arts, craft, film, writing, architecture and design – these are just some of the forms of creative expression that are nourished by arts and culture organizations. Through this work our unique stories are told and our shared cultural identity is preserved and celebrated.

Environment

Preserving our natural spaces and species drives the work of environmental organizations. From river restoration, to urban greening initiatives to animal welfare, these organizations ensure the health and longevity of our ecosystems.

Human & Social Services
Homes and social service organizations keep us healthy, safe, well-trained and educated. They address community issues and concerns and find solutions that ensure equity and prosperity for all Canadians. This is the largest sub-sector comprising direct social services for people at risk, housing, health promotion, research, philanthropy and international development. These organizations also focus on meeting the needs of specific population groups like seniors, youth or newcomers.

Sports & Recreation

Keeping Canadians physically active is the main goal of sports & recreation organizations. Whether it's on the lawn, bowling court or at the skateboard park, these organizations ensure that there are a wide range of opportunities for active living and building skills, leadership, teamwork and self-esteem.

The Ways & Means: Giving Options

So, you've identified the cause you want to support and the charity or charities that you are going to target in. Now what? The giving options are many and it is up to you how and how much you are going to donate. Here are some considerations:

Make an annual donation to an organization or organizations whose cause you believe in. By providing a regular contribution you are helping the organization sustain itself, focus on its core mission, and reduce the time it needs to spend on fundraising.

Make a monthly donation which may allow you to contribute a larger amount as you will be amortizing it over the course of the year.

Purchase a ticket to a fundraising event. With this approach you can support a charity in many ways that are fun. In addition to raising funds that flow to programs and services, these kinds of public events are instrumental in a charity's efforts to promote its work, thereby building a stronger support base. In other words, your support will help leverage other support, resulting in greater reach for the charity's efforts. And you have the added bonus of a good time with friends and family.

Buy a product where proceeds go to a registered charity. Many businesses are engaged in cause-related marketing, through which a portion of their product or service sales goes to a cause. This can be a lucrative source of support for charities.

Attend a cultural or sporting event. Leaving the public to experience art or sport is one of their missions while also being a major source of income. Your support given in this way is a win-win.

Donate stock or appreciated securities. A relatively new way to give and reduce your taxes at the same time. See the Giving Gives Back portion of this supplement. For more information please contact the Charities Directorate at

Revenue Canada or consult with a financial advisor on this and other giving options such as donations of real estate, cultural property, or to leave a lasting legacy through your will.

Make a difference.
Visit www.thanksandgiving.ca

Join our Legacy Circle

The Legacy Circle is a special group of alumni and friends who honour the University of Windsor with a planned gift. Legacy gifts can have significant tax advantages, making a bequest a win-win for your loved ones and for future generations of our students.

You can designate your bequest to the University of Windsor for a named scholarship, research in an area of personal interest, a building campaign, or a program or faculty of your choice.

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Breast cancer affects Canadians from coast to coast.

On Sunday October 5, 2008 unite with all Canadians in the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation CIBC Run for the Cure.

Be part of the largest single day volunteer led fundraising event dedicated to creating a future without breast cancer.

Who are you running for?

5k or 10k
Walk, Run and Give Generously
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CANADIAN BREAST CANCER FOUNDATION

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Title Sponsor National Sponsors



NYCARD



Checks & Balances

How can I feel confident that my donation will be well-spent?

You should feel free to do your own research in order to reach a comfort level with the charity or cause of your choice. Most charities have websites and, as publicly facing organizations, they are indeed toward transparency in their operations. Look for a list of their board of directors and staff (if they have say) to see who's involved, and you can also download their annual report to find out how they receive and spend their funds and what kinds of annual activities they engage in.

Reputable charities will be happy to answer any questions you have. Send them an email, call or ask to visit them on site. Your donation is an important source of income and a show of support for the good work they are doing in the community.

If you still have concerns there are some third party organizations that might help alleviate them.

Charities are regulated by the federal government through the Charities Directorate at the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA). While the CRA does not do detailed reviews of each of the more than 80,000 charities that operate in Canada, they do set guidelines, require annual submissions and do random audits. If you have concerns that a charity may not be registered, you can only verify this online.

There are also mechanisms within the nonprofit sector that exist to promote high standards and protect the interests of donors.

Imagine Canada, the national umbrella for the country's nonprofits, operates the Ethical Code, a donor assistance program that establishes standards of good practice in fundraising and financial accountability. Check to see if your favourite charity is a member of the Ethical Code Program.



Above all, keep in mind that you are never obliged to give. Your gift is voluntary and should stem from your confidence in a charity to steward your donation and ensure it has the greatest impact possible.

Donor Resources

The Ethical Code: www.imaginecanada.ca/ethicalcode

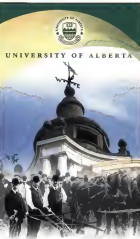
The Federal Government Regulator (Canada Revenue Agency):

<http://www.cra-cc.gc.ca/tx/charities/eng/eng.html>

Portal for online giving: www.canadahelps.org

Advice on giving through year-end: www.lawsondeputy.ca

Community Foundations of Canada: www.cfcfc.ca



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Thanks to the generosity of more than 75,000 alumni and friends—clipped off with a gift from University of Alberta Chancellor Eric P. Newell and his wife Kathy—the U of A has surpassed its goal of \$500 million for CAMPAIGN 2008, the most ambitious fundraising campaign in U of A history. And we aren't stopping yet.

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1. Take the time to talk to your family and friends this Thanksgiving weekend about the charities that matter to you.

2. Make a donation today to the charity of your choice.

Go to www.thanksandgiving.ca where you will be directed to our country's online giving portal CanadaHelps.org. Find the charity of your choice and donate directly online.

3. Tell us your giving story.

When you've made your donation, consider also sending us your giving story. We'd like to tell other Canadians about you – what charity is important to you and how you support it. We want your story to inspire others to give!

Submit your giving story to thinksgiving@imaginecanada.ca for a chance to win \$5,000 to donate to the registered charity of your choice. Refer to the You Give, We Thank contest page of this supplement for further details.

4. Join us in our new Canadian tradition by giving back this Thanksgiving.



Make a difference.
Visit www.thanksandgiving.ca

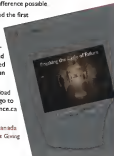
Giving is good. Intelligent giving is even more so.

Our role is to identify and to champion those charities that deliver outstanding results in helping Canadians in need, so that donors can be secure in the knowledge that their funds are making the most significant difference possible.

To this end, we have just published the first in our series of Funder Guides, "Breaking the Cycle of Failure", an analysis of the school drop-out crisis in Canada, how it affects our youth and our society at large, and details on a range of Recommended Charities proven to be effective in doing something about it.

To learn more, and to download your own free copy, please go to www.charityintelligence.ca

 Charity Intelligence Canada
Intelligence Giving



Canadians continue to have a overwhelming level of trust in charities. *Taking the Pulse* Charities, an Ipsos Reid survey of 3,863 Canadians commissioned by the Edmonton-based Marten Foundation in 2006 found that 80% of Canadians trust charities "some or a lot." While this is good news, Canada's charities want to make sure things stay that way.

That's why 150 of Canada's leading charities have banded together to reinforce their commitment to high standards of accountability by joining Imagine Canada's Ethical Code Program.

Since the Ethical Code Program launched earlier this year, charities of all sizes from every region of the country have signed on to this self-regulatory initiative. The Ethical Code Program sets a framework for best practices in fundraising and financial management, with requirements both for how charities solicit funds and how they account for them.

Demand for standards initiatives like the Ethical Code has been growing as donors become more aware of accountability issues and more informed about the sorts of questions they should be asking. Canadian donors expect transparency!

The long-term goal of the Ethical Code Program is that donors will come to recognize the Program's trademark as a sign that participating charities are managing their donation dollars responsibly. It's an accountability movement designed to ensure donor support and confidence.

Check to see if your favourite charity is a member of the Ethical Code Program.

For more information and a list of Ethical Code Program charities visit www.imaginecanada.ca/en/ethicalcode

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with hope, you
first have to fill
something else.



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U.S. markets fall, tent cities rise



CITY AGENCIES expect modern shantytowns to keep growing

BY KATE LEROUX • Last week marked the one-year anniversary of Burma's Saffron Revolution, which saw millions of people protesting against the military takeover and a crackdown that left at least 100 dead or missing. Now, it seems the crisis has turned its attention online—the junta has reportedly launched a series of Internet attacks on dissident websites based outside the country.

Just before the anniversary, at least three websites run by Burmese exiles were crippled by "distributed denial of service" attacks that jammed them with fake traffic, reported the Thailand-based newspaper *Irrawaddy*, one of the few outlets. Whispers for the Burmese-language newspaper *Kin Pyaw* (*New Era Journal*) in Thailand, and the Dulo based Democratic Voice of Burma, which monitors and distributes information, were also affected. The attacks coincided with increased surveillance of Burmese Internet cafes, and a slowdown of Internet service within the country that rendered it impossible to upload photos or videos, noted *Irrawaddy*, which continued reporting through a government website and blog.

Immediately after back online Monday, but some are fearful that similar attacks could follow. "If the military government has well-trained computer technicians, they could make any targeted attack," said *Irrawaddy* office manager Win Tha, who supervised the efforts to get back online. "It doesn't cost very much to carry out such attacks."

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Burma sets its sights on online critics

BY KATE LEROUX • Last week marked the one-year anniversary of Burma's Saffron Revolution, which saw millions of people protesting against the military takeover and a crackdown that left at least 100 dead or missing. Now, it seems the crisis has turned its attention online—the junta has reportedly launched a series of Internet attacks on dissident websites based outside the country.

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Mexico's new war on kidnappers

BY CAMERON ASHWORTH'S VOICES • From the numerous reports of kidnappings and executions-style murders, to the 40,000 soldiers deployed in 2006 to reduce the power of drug cartels, Mexico's war on drugs has grabbed international headlines while becoming a national calamity. This year alone there have been an estimated 3,000 drug-related murders reported across the country, including the recent discovery of about a dozen headless bodies in the Mexican Peninsula. Yet an equally sinister development has polarized to the surface and is now boiling over: Authorities have reported that as many as 400 people have been abducted so far this year, a huge increase over the 40,000 in 2007. Some of the most targeted are Mexicans over 18 years old, and targeted are Mexicans over 18 years old, and targeted are Mexicans over 18 years old.



SO FAR, 400 people have been abducted this year

In response, the Mexican government launched an anti-kidnapping squad consisting of some 300 officers working in five units, and last week pledged to million to all 32 states and the federal districts to set up specialized anti-kidnapping units. President Felipe Calderón has also urged congress to pass a bill that would send kidnappers to prison for life without parole, while the country's national security council is mulling over the idea of creating high security prisons for kidnappers, along with standardizing anti-abduction laws.

But the problem may be far worse than it appears on the surface. For a country that is second only to Colombia in the overall number of kidnappings reported every year, Human rights groups claim that up to two-thirds of all kidnappings in Mexico go unreported, and they accuse corrupt police officials of selling criminals to the drug cartels. To make matters worse, some critics report that the government's crackdown on drug cartels is the reason why kidnappings are rising.

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Crumbling house prices touched off a financial crisis sth of the border. Real estate agents insist our market is safe but economists are sounding a warning.

IT COULD HAPPEN HERE

Inside Canada's brewing real estate storm. BY JASON KIRBY

Perhaps it's best to start with the good news: The sudden slowdown in Canada's housing market is most certainly not enough to turn us into a housing Tsunami. And unlike leading markets around the world, right now there's no sign of a housing tsunami. In fact, some experts say the Canadian housing market is not "plunging," as the board said in a recent statement. "There is no cause for concern," Of course, when you see a price rise, there's a reason to panic.

Those who share the rational optimism outlook are a shrinking band. Merrill Lynch economist David Wolf recently published a biting analysis of the housing market that predicted not just a slowdown, but significant price declines in many cities, particularly in the West. On a national basis, Wolf says house prices are overvalued, while markets in Vancouver and Victoria are valued by as much as 75 per cent. As for Regina and Saskatoon, a doubling in house prices over the last two years has put those cities into the "extreme zone," says Wolf. His findings were echoed last month in a report by specialists at the University of British Columbia's Sauder School of Business, which found housing markets in many Canadian cities are seriously out of balance when compared to a national average. While housing markets in Toronto and Edmonton appear sound when compared to rents, in cities such as Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Regina and Winnipeg prices must drop at least 25 per cent in order to be in balance. "Nobody likes to see their property values go down, but there's a very real economic reality," Wolf told *Maclean's*. "The reality is that after a wonderful few years, we've finally reached the end."

For now, Wolf and others like him are in the minority. The savings stand in stark contrast to the repeated statements of real

estate and bullish economists, and the ubiquitous structural experts you need to meet at dinner parties. The two camps are not necessarily arguing for the future, but for the present. Canada will not experience a U.S.-style housing crisis because our mortgage industry was more conservative and sustained. Secondly, even if the current slump continues, it won't be as severe as downturns that happened in the late 1980s, because interest rates are expected to remain low. Such statements have been repeated so often they're regarded as absolute fact. But a closer look at the realities of Canada's recent housing boom, say experts, shows holes in both arguments. It's becoming painfully clear that the party has ended. The question is how bad will the housing hangover get, and how long could it last?

In the future, when the U.S. housing crisis has long since passed and people try to comey how bad it was, they can tell tales about the little house at Detroit that sold for \$1. The three-story house, a few blocks from the city's downtown airport, was sold for \$45,000 in 1995, before the housing market began to collapse. Then, last year, the bank foreclosed and the family living there was evicted. Vacation home owners fled the island, some selling the house at a loss, others taking the house to court. The bank, faced with bad debts and unwilling to sell the house, dropped the price to \$1 in July 1997. Then, it took 10 days to find a buyer.

Sadly, stories have come to epitomize the carnage under way in the U.S. housing sector. The subprime mortgage debacle is well into its second year, and the fallout is showing. Five signs of letting up billions of individuals with poor credit records to subprime mortgages to buy homes. Many of these mortgages came with extremely low rates that reset after two years, by which time mortgage rates had climbed.

Unable to keep up with their payments, millions found themselves in foreclosure. The flood of foreclosed homes on the market drove down the property values for everyone, including those who were making their payments. Since July 1996, U.S. house prices have fallen nearly 30 per cent, as measured by the S&P Case-Shiller index of 20 urban markets. In some places, while sellers have taken on the loss of modern ghost towns, with foreclosed homes and even hundreds of empty, fire-damaged homes.

There's no question there are significant

risks and bullish economists, and the ubiquitous structural experts you need to meet at dinner parties. The two camps are not necessarily arguing for the future, but for the present. Canada will not experience a U.S.-style housing crisis because our mortgage industry was more conservative and sustained. Secondly, even if the current slump continues, it won't be as severe as downturns that happened in the late 1980s, because interest rates are expected to remain low. Such statements have been repeated so often they're regarded as absolute fact. But a closer look at the realities of Canada's recent housing boom, say experts, shows holes in both arguments. It's becoming painfully clear that the party has ended. The question is how bad will the housing hangover get, and how long could it last?

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There's no question there are significant

The cost of owning a two-story home in Vancouver has up 45% of household income in 2001.



This year's 79% increase in house prices has led to a 79% increase in the cost of owning a two-story home in Vancouver.

difference between the U.S. bubble and the situation facing Canada. It's just that the gap isn't as wide as some might believe. The good news is Canada never had a huge subprime market. In the U.S., more than 10 per cent of all mortgages moved between 2000 and 2006 fell into that category. Up here, subprime loans never accounted for more than five per cent of the market. That does not mean, however, that Canada's mortgage sector has been a bastion of responsible conservatism. Canada found other ways to make it easy for homeowners to take out huge loans that they might not necessarily be able to afford.

For Larry Smith, professor emeritus of economics at the University of Toronto and a long-time real estate writer, the moves by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation in more than 20 years to loosen lending standards have certainly helped to create the housing bubble. In 2004, for instance, the fed actually eased mortgage answer allowed homeowners to take out loans with no cash down payment other than two years later.

CMHC extended the maximum amortization period for mortgages from 25 years to four decades. At the time, former Bank of Canada governor David Dodge warned the loans could spark inflation. In July the government backtracked, limiting mortgage terms to 35 years and requiring down payments of at least five per cent in an effort "to reduce the risk of a U.S.-style housing bubble." But according to Smith, the damage may have been done. By some estimates, three quarters of all mortgages over the last two years were in 35- to 40-year terms. That's a sign, Smith says, that homeowners are stretched to the limit. What's more, when it comes time to refinance their mortgages, there's no guarantee even the 35-year amortizations will still be there, meaning borrowers could face higher rates. "It sounds great, but it's not appropriate to create people into thinking they can afford home ownership by giving them terms that may not last," says Smith. "The consequences here are a legacy crime of the U.S. Not a bad word for Canada in the same direction."

Homeowners who opted for the longer-term mortgages could also face problems. Those prices are fine to fall even modestly. It can take years to put significant dent in the principle of a 40-year mortgage, experts say. That means most owners have next to no equity in their homes. Should the value of their homes fall by another 20 per cent, they could find themselves underwater. If that happens, they'll feel handicapped and unable to sell. It doesn't take many people feeling trapped to

weigh heavily on the market.

Adding it up, says Garth Turner, the Liberal MP and Canada's minister of small businesses, and the outlook for housing is grim. "If you want to look at where we're going to be in two years, look south," says Turner, whose latest book, *Greater Fool*, predicts a severe downturn in the Canadian market. "Right now there's a lot of us for real estate in the U.S. because it's a prison people can't get out of. We're still in the love phase. But we've seen a spike in the roller and we're a little suspicious of what the ball is going to do."

The price whisperer has landed in the heads of everyone's mind as the kind of collapse of house prices that followed the bubble of

bubble is effectively slipping away as house prices start they started back to earth. In the early 1990s it was falling interest rates. The problem now, says Wolf, is interest rates are already near rock bottom, inflation has been kept in check, and accelerating entry into a recession will be limited. That leaves only one option: falling house prices. "Even though the market isn't hugely overvalued, it may be that prices have to fall, on a nominal basis, more than after those bigger booms of the past," says Wolf. This downturn may not be exactly the worst of the past, but that doesn't mean it will be any less painful.

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'THE REALITY IS THAT AFTER A WONDERFUL FEW YEARS, WE HAVE REACHED THE END'



the late 1990s. It was certainly a sadder market than today, with national prices climbing at 25 per cent a year, compared to 10 per cent this year around. Also, when adjusted for inflation, prices haven't soared as high there. The average single family home in Toronto peaked at \$410,000 in 1990 whereas in July the city's average stood at \$171,000. When the Bank of Canada pulled its rates back then, the party ended with a squeal of rubber and the sound of shattering glass. In a matter of months many homes lost more than half of their value.

Today interest rates are relatively low, at three per cent, and are not expected to rise significantly. But while this would seem to be positive for the housing market, there's not necessarily so, according to Merrill Lynch's Wolf. To realize why, it helps to understand the concept of housing affordability. In simple terms, it measures how easily a family earning an average income and paying current mortgage rates could afford a typical house on the market. When that hypothesis and reality can afford today's average home, the market is considered fairly valued. But housing affordability has deteriorated to levels not seen since the early 1990s. When house prices get out of whack, there are only four ways to turn it around again: falling interest rates; rising incomes; massive inflation; or outright house price declines. In the early 1990s inflation brought the market back into

new north had a similar decline. "I think it's up to 25," he says after a pause to turn up his burgeoning cigar. "A little while ago I killed everything up and two months later 30 years the actual wage of oil sands employees."

How can he be so pessimistic so much, we ask? Leverage. By borrowing heavily against one's pay stub, he's been able to buy the new. That doesn't sound like a bad thing, but the reality is that the economy here, but he's typically been between 75 per cent and 100 per cent of a property's value and always has enough rental income coming in to cover mortgage payments. It's a strategy that works well in some markets. But as even the most sophisticated real estate brokers—think Montreal's Robitaille and his fellow Olympians at York Empire—have found, any significant downturn can cause such elaborate structures to go down like a house of cards. Even so, Thorsheim is now branching into a new market: pre foreclosure, in which he teams up with partners to buy homes from owners who are at risk of defaulting on their mortgages. Every month he sees about 100 new cases. Just doesn't get to him that he's a real estate speculator. "I'm not a speculator at all," he says. "I call myself an investor. I study the business and I know that over the long term, real estate prices are going to go up because of Alberta's economic fundamentals."

If there's one thing that many experts have found worrying about the latest run-up, it's that there didn't seem to be the success of



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past bubbles. For instance, Vancouver is said to have benefited its condo flippers thanks to a hefty land transfer tax, while real estate professionals have used the flurry of condo sales going up in Toronto to nervously meet renewed demand for urban living. But did the speculation really go away? Or has it just changed form? Hard and fast numbers are difficult to come by, but experts say even a decade ago it was common for people to hold onto their homes for eight to 10 years. Today, young, first-time homebuyers think nothing of flipping up a condo and then reselling it a few years later to upgrade to a larger space.

As any prudent financial adviser would point out, buying a home with a two-year

CONSTRUCTION loan are extremely vulnerable to a rapidly declining housing market.

report by Statistics Canada, 68 per cent of Canadian households owned their own home as of 2006, the highest level since 1971. With more than a year of straining home sales since then, that figure will have risen even higher. Real estate makes up more than \$2.2 trillion, or 57 per cent of total household assets in Canada, up from 50 per cent a decade ago.

Canadians also rely heavily on their homes to finance their lifestyles. As of 2007 Canadians had an estimated \$155 billion in outstanding debt they'd borrowed against the equity in their homes, according to the Bank of Canada, up from just \$47 billion in 2000. That money paid for home renovations, but when TVL family members and several priorities. Without doing anything, Canadians

should be in the \$70,000 range to be sustainable. If construction slows to that level, the result could be layoffs on a large scale. A weak housing market will leave homeowners feeling poorer, but it also threatens to bleed into the broader economy, and vice versa, creating a vicious cycle.

Canadians need look no further than the carnage on Wall Street to see how fast a severe drop in house prices could spread, and how devastating the results can be. What started as secret U.S. homeowners struggling to make payments on their subprime mortgages has snowballed into a crisis that's forced venerable names like Merrill Lynch and Bear Stearns into bankruptcy. That, one banker told *enr.com* compared to their U.S. counterparts.

But with the global credit crunch, banks are expected to tighten their purse strings, and that could stifle Canada's housing market and put the wider economy

With Washington spending hundreds of billions to rescue the financial industry, that only heightens the anxiety here at home. Housing starts in Regina were down half last month; proposed condo projects in Toronto and Calgary have

been shelved; and in Vancouver, one condo developer is offering to refund buyers' mortgage payments for two years as a way to fill unsold units. Given how close to the action are housing falls that prices can stay afloat. "Everyone was pretty optimistic about it, but when there's a sales drop of this magnitude, there's no way people aren't feeling it," says Paul Boonach, a real estate agent and blogger in North Vancouver who tracks Greater Vancouver's housing market. "Is there going to be a crash? I don't know. Are prices going to keep going down? I don't know. But if the trend of higher inventory and weaker sales stays the same, there's nowhere else that prices can go."

If the housing market is a barometer of where the economy is headed, the signs would suggest it's time to subside rather than the ongoing storm. That is, if the price is right. ■



HOME EQUITY LOANS HAVE MORE THAN TRIPLED SINCE 2001—FROM \$47 BILLION TO \$153 BILLION

hortion is pure speculation that prices will keep rising, and that implies an important shift in attitude. "When you own a home, it's different than owning stocks," says Tim Yunderville, who writes on the U.S. housing market at StrategicRealEstateInvesting.com. "There's the investment factor, but if where you go every night, where family members are housed. You have all these emotional factors." Homeowners evaluate their needs, desires and finances, and make long-term decisions about where they want to live and how much they can afford. Investors make projections about asset values, interest rates and market prices, all of which are inherently risky. But when the market is red-hot, the distinction blurs, and a doesn't rule each for even a small slump to feed on itself and quickly spiral out of control as speculators dump properties to which they have no emotional attachment.

felt wealthier because of the rising value of their homes. The problem is, that so-called "wealth effect" can work in reverse too. And it can have a devastating impact on the economy as a whole, dragging down even those who never even signed a mortgage.

One potential weakness of Canada's strong job market, often cited as a reason house prices won't fall, according to Wall at Merrill Lynch, roughly 72 per cent of Canada's workforce is now in the construction sector, the highest it's ever been. That is a worry because many construction jobs are tied to the housing sector itself. For several years home construction has been plowing ahead, far beyond demand and leading to oversupply, according to Dick Orr, an economist at Global Insight. Housing starts have hovered around 230,000 to 240,000 a year. Yet based on Canada's demographics, says Orr, housing starts

TURKISH BOON SERVICE GETS OUT OF HAND
Belle Yucel has fired all the men at her hotel in Turkey and replaced them with women. The action follows rampant kidnapping in which male staff seduced British women tourists. It got to the point, Yucel says, that the hotel never really had a night receptionist because he was busy bedding girls. "The last time was when I caught my bartender coming out of a toilet with a woman guest."



EMPLOYEE OF THE WEEK

THE grim reality south of the border can times to buy over Canada like a black cloud. And no wonder. Real estate is arguably more important to Canadian family finances than ever before. For one thing, more people own property now than at any time in decades. According to a recent

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What 'socialism for the rich' looks like



STEVE
MASON

Ferre fires are extremely unpleasant, especially when viewed from up close. They're scary and destructive and can be deadly for those caught in their path. But they're also essential to the long-term health of any forest ecosystem. They clear out deadwood, control pests and disease, and return nutrients to the ground so that a new generation of growth can take hold.

The same is true of market crashes. They're painful, frightening, and sometimes essential to purge the excesses and distortions created by long periods of growth and prosperity.

But accepting that idea isn't easy. Embracing it is only as terrifying. Last week, the U.S. government and the cities of American downtown looked out at the flames enveloping Wall Street and panicked.

Coming hot on the heels of a US\$100-billion bailout of pure mortgage guarantees, Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, and a US\$75-billion bailout for distressed mortgage loan servicers, Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson launched a US\$80-billion de facto nationalization of insurance giant AIG, followed by a temporary ban on short selling financial stocks (a so-called "circuit breaker" to prevent a proleptic market decline), and a US\$180-billion credit line to shore up money markets (mostly funds). But Paulson's audience one payee-funded intervention wasn't finished there. He also put together a plan to have the government close bad deals from the balance sheets of America's major financial institutions just as it did during the savings and loan crisis of the late 1980s. No exact pricing yet, but Paulson acknowledged the cost would run into the hundreds of billions of dollars. Taken all together, this represents a sweeping redefinition of the relationship between private enterprise and public finance.

Paulson's rescue of AIG was particularly shocking because it came just 41 hours after he refused a similar lifeline to the venerable brokerage Lehman Bros. In fact, Paulson said he never even considered bailing out Lehman, because it was not the role of government to bailing private companies out just into trouble all on their own. He reversed himself in AIG's case because to fail to do so, experts said, would have triggered a massive global market panic, and since certainly a stock market crash, Paulson's actions, together

with, are based around the cold calculus of pragmatism, rather than principle. Lehman was allowed to fail because it was too small to matter. AIG was saved because it was too big to shatter.

You might think this people would have a problem with this—that some might think pragmatism and guiding philosophy are important, because they allow the world to anticipate and evaluate the steps that public officials will use public funds. But, by and large, the reaction to Paulson's moves has



Paulson hasn't averted a crash, he's deferred it

reached from feisty denial to resigned acceptance. There are a few outraged voices—like investor Jim Rogers (author of the famous Paulson-bailout instruction, *Emergency and "Socialism for the Rich"*), pointing out that they have been slowly run and the American national debt, to help "a bunch of crooks and incompetents." But generally, most hard-core conservatives have fallen back on the "desperate times call for desperate measures" rationale.

Still, even in pragmatic terms, Paulson's strategy is problematic and worrisome. For one thing, it implicitly encourages financial firms to be even more reckless and aggressive

after all, Lehman was allowed to fail because it didn't have enough exposure to toxic mortgages and other distressed debt. AIG was saved because it had too much. The lesson isn't just about, and one day you too could be an arm of the federal government.

More important, these moves called "Paulson Doctrine" often seem more uncertainty to a system than they do stability. Until this week, private companies appeared on the assumption of "rational harvest"—that corporations and executives can expect to bear the full consequences of their bad decisions. Paulson has replaced that concept with what some academics call "constructive ambiguity." In other words, you just never know when, or how or why the federal government might intervene. They will make all decisions on a case-by-case basis, focusing on expediency rather than basic principles.

There's no denying the immediate benefits of the Paulson Doctrine. Pumping half a trillion dollars into the financial system was carefully managed to brighten the outlook extending floors around the world and spread confidence the trauma of plunging stock prices, even more housing savings and quite possibly widespread job loss. The Dow Jones Industrial Average jumped 3,000 points between noon Thursday and the end of the day Friday. But the celebration on Wall Street only confirms that the short-term thinking that created this crisis remains unchanged.

The central, misguided concept of Paulson's bailout effort is that market crashes can be prevented with sufficient will and abundant capital. They can't. They not only are delayed, depressed and slowed.

Bad debt has not disappeared; they have simply been moved from a place where they are highly visible to a place where they are more or less hidden. Banks have not been delisted; they have been shifted from huge private institutions onto the heels of ordinary taxpayers. In a best-case scenario, the costs will be kept for decades through higher payments on the national debt and a weaker U.S. dollar—a slow drain of wealth that might otherwise have paid for roads and schools and hospitals and national defense, and will make it even more difficult to support the future strength of the U.S. economy.

The worst case scenario? The real estate market continues to tank. Then you get all the more conservative concepts in the bigger, less visible, and a lot harder to control. "I am convinced that this build the firm approach will not save our financial system from the alternative," Paulson said on Friday. Let's hope he's right. But let's be honest too: he's not "holding the fort," he's selling it. ■

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Find out how much your friends make

BY ALEXANDRA RIMMO • Knowledge is power. So Frances Bacon once wrote, and contemporary Robert Halfon agrees. That's why he created *Glassdoor.com*, a website to empower workers. Launched in June, the site details what it's really like to work for a company, worth and all. More importantly, it also gives open the taboo subject of people's salaries by encouraging workers to anonymously post how much they're paid.

"We've been pleasantly surprised at how honest and sincere employees have been in describing their work experiences," says Halfon, speaking to *Maclean's* from his office



STARBUCKS is run by "seniority types," wrote one *Glassdoor* user

page's office in Seattle, Wash. For example, 1840 has a "kinda corporate culture," according to a former research assistant, while Starbucks used to be a great place to work, but it "now run by micromanaging seniority types." A project manager at Bell Canada admits that if you "want to be the best in your field...you'll be very frustrated at Bell." Other more positive, such as Dell Canada and Wal-Mart Canada, have received mostly positive reviews and high ratings, which are scored out of five.

In total, there are 31,000 companies on the site. Most are American, but there are a number of major Canadian firms such as Air Canada, Rogers, Vancity, RBC Financial, Ontario Power Generation and Canada Post. You can also find reviews of the Canadian branches of many international companies, such as Home Depot, Best Buy, Ikea and SAP.

To access the really detailed information—such as the fact that technicians at Bell earn \$65,355 a year—you have to post your own salary and write a review. The contrast is almost entirely user-generated, and the company insists it "goes to get." Of course the interesting part is seeing how your salary compares to that of your colleagues. And if you find out it's lower? You might be able to see that information to get a raise. ■

Hard times? Not if you're Shoppers.

BY JASON KIRBY • What economic slow-down? As retailers across North America struggle to make customers into shoppers, Shoppers Drug Mart, Canada's largest pharmacy chain, has put ahead of plan for a change. Last week, Shoppers announced it will open another 10 outlets over the next five years. This is the latest sign in an aggressive push that has made the chain a storehouse of riches in a dismal retail landscape. But is its particular mix of prescriptions, food and lip-trick enough to fend off the bears?

Shoppers is a dramatically different shop now than it was a decade ago. Under former CEO Glen Murphy (now in charge of Gap Inc.), the company branched out into high-end cosmetics and groceries. The stores were redesigned and the company expanded from Central Canada to the West. Those moves helped give Shoppers the strongest bottom line in the industry—it now boasts a profit margin of more than 10 per cent, even as many other drugstore chains are in the red.

Since taking over in early 2000, CEO Ken Schrader has kept his foot on the gas. Just this year the company will launch a new chain of beauty stores called Maelle. And Shoppers aims to add to its 1,110 stores by pushing deeper into Western Canada. Interestingly, the plan is not to create new pharmacies, but to buy existing independent drug stores and put them in bigger new shops averaging 25,000 sq feet in size.

Robert Gibson, an analyst with Ontario Capital in Toronto, says the strategy makes sense because there's no shortage of real estate, but instead pharmacies with a long list of customers are hard to come by. The bonus is the larger outlets allow Shoppers to sell more of the higher-margin cosmetics and beauty products that boost profits. It's a strategy Gibson says should do well as a recession.

"I hate to say that, but I'm getting older, and older people need more drugs," he says. "I don't want to say they're recession-proof. But there are some things you have to buy. Like food, gas and drugs—while that new pair of shoes sits idle." ■

Study finds Democrats care more

BY KATHERINE WENDLAND • Are Democrats more caring than Republicans? A new study looking at the social responsibility norms of American corporations suggests that they are. The research, conducted by finance professor Amir Rubin at B.C.'s Simon Fraser University, shows that firms based in states that vote Democrat are more socially responsible than firms in Republican states.

Published in the *Financial Review*, the study is based on the notion that companies in red states are more likely to be run by Republicans, while those in blue states are likely to vote Democrat. To determine whether politics affects how well firms address their



COMPANIES IN blue-friendly states are less responsible

social, human and environmental sustainability concerns, Rubin compared voting patterns in the last election to the social responsibility ratings of almost 3,000 firms—about "98 per cent of the U.S. economy," he says.

Overall, he found that about 14 per cent of American firms are "socially responsible," according to data provided by R.J.D. Research & Analytics. But in states where the majority of voters support George Bush, more than 17 per cent of firms failed the social responsibility test. In Texas, where Bush got more than 64 per cent of the vote, almost 20 per cent of companies were socially irresponsible. Meanwhile, in Washington, where the Republican candidate received only nine per cent of the vote, every corporation received positive social responsibility ratings.

Rubin says at first glance, the political link seems to be due to the types of firms you find in red and blue states. For instance, states that vote Democrat, such as California, tend to have lots of tech companies, which score well on social responsibility, whereas states that vote Republican, such as Texas, have more oil companies. "You can always predict election results just by looking at the industry classification of a state," Rubin says.

But even after controlling the findings for the industry size of firms and corporate structures, the link persists. "Why? It could be that Democrats simply care more—but even Rubin doesn't know for sure." ■

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KIDNAPPED IN SOMALIA

**The inside story of
how Albertan Amanda
Lindhout found
herself being held for a
US\$2.5-million ransom
BY JONATHAN GATHEHOUSE
AND NICHOLAS KOHLER**

The entire scene inside Mogadishu's Hotel Shamo seemed almost pleasant. "The rooms are large, with air conditioning, wi-fi and electricity 24/7," says [sic] a Kyrgyz visitor wrote last December. "The restaurant is reasonably decent, and serves lobster when available at the fish market."

And above all, notes the entry, the hotel is "relatively safe"—not a small consideration for travellers to Somalia, a country that stopped functioning not long ago. It now qualifies as a "post-failed" state.

Amanda Lindhout, a 27-year-old freelance journalist from Sylva, B.C., and her friend Nigel Swann, a 15-year-old Australian photographer, showed up on Aug. 20. They spent two days scouting for stories in the former capital—climbing rooftops at a roadside band stand at African Union peacekeepers, interviewing shopkeepers at the bazaar market about the almost daily reports of attacks from Islamic insurgents. Then, early on the morning of Aug. 21, the pair commandeered into a hotel-owned Toyota Land

Cruiser for the journey into even more dangerous territory, a trip that leaves some of the estimated 400,000 people displaced by the fighting in Mogadishu.



GUINNESS of Mogadishu's support: Amanda Lindhout, Nigel Swann

Priority 50, at the Sarkee checkpoint on the city's edge, Lindhout and Swann had good bye to their two AK-47-armed guards, dressed in TFG uniforms, but employed by the hotel for \$10 a day. Another security "team" (read: members of a different militia) were supposedly waiting for them at the next roadblock, just 1.5 km down the highway. The journalists, their guide, the hotel driver and another local man who begged us to show them the way disappeared en route. Lindhout had travelled to Somalia hoping to tell stories about the dire economic situation and burgeoning humanitarian crisis to networks in Canada and France. Her only television appearance so far has been in a grainy video her captors released to al Jazeera last week. Dressed in a red shawl, and surrounded by masked and armed men, the Albertan called on the Canadian and Australian governments to work for her and Swann's release. A counter-guarantee by one of her captors called for an end to foreign aggression in Somalia. But the demands transmitted through other channels have been anything but political—US\$2.5 million in cash, hard cash.

The video was released by a group calling itself the Mujahideen of Somalia, but according to the clan leader who has been negotiating with the kidnappers, ideology has not entered into the discussions. "They are not Shabaab," Tahir Farah says by phone from Mogadishu, referring to the al Qaeda-linked Islamist militia who are the TFG's main military rivals. "They are not another faction. They are bandits." Farah, a well-known figure in Mogadishu, says he first heard from Lindhout's captors on the day of the abduction. Their initial demand was for US\$1 million, more than he says he considered them to be too high. Despite media reports to the contrary, the negotiator says he has been unable to speak directly with any of the bandits, but has been assured that they are being well looked after. However, Farah is frustrated by what he perceives as a lack of agency on the part of the Australian and Canadian governments. The Aussies, through their High Com

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'Very sorry' advice

Alec Baldwin wants you to know it wasn't his fault

The star of '30 Rock' has turned that infamous phone call into an opportunity to create a kinder, gentler image



BY JAMIE A. WEINMAN

Alec Baldwin is the world's most adorable selfish neurotic—at least on television. Off-screen, he's snarlier but less lovable, and he's hoping to change that. Last year, it looked like his less-than-beloved off-screen persona might even hinder his career in a bitful Baldwin type of way: everybody with an Internet connection or a radio heard the instantly legendary tape of a voice mail he left for his 11-year-old daughter, in which he called her "a rude, thoughtless little pig" for not answering his phone calls. Instead, he's a newly successful actor who just won an Emmy for *30 Rock*, a show whose low ratings haven't stopped it from being picked up for a third season (premiering on Oct. 30). He's even turned pig-gate into an opportunity to create a kinder, gentler public image: he gave a humble and unapologetic literary acceptance speech, a *New Yorker* profile tried to make us sympathize with the pressure he's been under, and he has a new book out, *A Promise to Ourselves: A Journey Through Fatherhood and Divorce*, in which he shares his pain over his much-publicized custody battle with Ireland's mother, actress and former *Sexman* girlfriend Rita Bateman. The book's villains include Bateman, a female judge ("with her customary lack of insight was parental alienation"), a female lawyer ("dressed in a garish, Dolly Levi hat"), a female therapist ("like most of the other doctors inside the system"), plus the people from *IMDb.com* who posted that voice-mail message in the first place. On television, in movies, in magazines, and now in books, Alec Baldwin wants us to know that he regrets and regrets because he has a heart of gold, just like that guy he plays on TV.

We're all so used to the image of Alec Baldwin as a big, intense, growly-voiced man ap-

ing horrible things at top speed that it's almost shocking to remember how many years he spent as a more or less conventional leading man. He was the first person to play Ben Casey's all-American hero Jack Ryan (in *The Hunt for Red October*). But when it came time to make the next Jack Ryan movie, *Patriot Games*, the part was recast with Harrison Ford. Baldwin claimed that this was because he chose to do a Broadway revival of *A Streetcar Named Desire* instead, but once the studio only got Baldwin on the line, they probably weren't too depressed. After that, he seemed to squander his early promise by starring in movies like *The Shadow*, about a nearly forgotten radio character whose main ability was to make himself invisible (because making invisible makes a star like not being seen), or his self-directed remake of *The Devil and Daniel Webster* with Jennifer Love Hewitt as the devil. Hewitt called him "the best director I've ever worked with," and she works with him as one of the cinematic art's single most work on *Ghost Whisperer*. But the movie wasn't released until three years after it was made. By the early part of this decade, Baldwin was known not so much as an actor as part of an acting family: he and his brothers, Stephen, Daniel and William, were like rather weird versions of the Entree brothers. No, he had that one scene in *Glimpse of the Girl*, giving a motivational pep talk that convinced mostly of illness, insulin and sweat words. But that was only one scene. As an actor, he was that guy who did the one good scene, made a lot of flop movies and hosted *Saturday Night Live* almost as often as Tim Allen. But that was before Jack Donaghy.

Baldwin's Jack Donaghy isn't only the most popular character on *30 Rock*; he is the main reason the show is still on the air. When Jack started, it looked like a snarlier, bolder, a

week later to Aaron Sorkin's *Studio 60 on the Sunset Strip*, which had the exact same premise and was on the same network. The plot of *30 Rock*, even after much subsequent retooling, mostly came off as a bland workplace sitcom, about a line of words—meaning that night comedy show—that just isn't very interesting to most people outside of showbusiness. What could possibly save a show with such a weak start? Alec Baldwin, that's what. Writer star Tina Fey initially seemed to be writing Jack Donaghy as a fairly conventional sitcom antagonist, the company man from General Electric (which owns NBC) put in charge of running a comedy show. But Baldwin turned the part around by making an interesting decision that



BALDWIN, Tina Fey at the Emmy Awards

was as eccentric as anything his character has ever done. Instead of playing the part for weekly sitcom banality, he played it as serious and intense as any fictional comic role. In light of what most of the characters were chipper sitcom stereotypes, Baldwin's Jack growled, grimaced, yelled at *Glimpse*-esque speed, and threw all of the other characters—and the audience—with his obnoxious yet underplayed insanity. He made the over-the-top improve comic—like Tracy Morgan, as a mecon-



most actor-look like generally wacky sitcom characters with Jack, we react the way the other characters do, wondering what insane thing he's going to say or in that deep, deep voice.

Baldwin originally signed on to be a recurring character on the show, appearing in an episode a year according to *The New Yorker*. NBC agreed to pick up the show only on condition that Baldwin would appear in every episode. For once, the network executives' point of view was the same as the public's: so Jack may have been a viable for *Timothy*.

A SCENE FROM 30 Rock: Tina Fey, David Schwimmer, Baldwin, with daughter Isabella



and her buddies from the world of satire, but gives Baldwin, the oldest, most old-fashioned actor in the cast, who was making the show hilarious, and it was clear to writers and viewers alike that the show needed to seem to need him. Though Fey's character, Liz Lemon, is the head writer of a late-night comedy show, that show is now almost no one ever even referred to like *NewsWeek* and *Jar Show Me*, the show's most malleable (Stephen Root on the *Seinfeld* and George Segal on the latter played bosses who were somewhat similar to Jack), so Jack is now a workplace comedy about a business that's almost completely generic, and instead of being about late-night comedy, it's mostly about the relationship between Fey's and Baldwin's characters. Liz Lemon wants to see her work as something special, Jack wants to teach her the joy of seeing yourself in part of the larger corporate world. He is, in other words, a comic, lovable version of Baldwin's character from *Glee* and *30 Rock*, Baldwin has figured out how to take his own, which doesn't mean performing and applying to the cast, sweeter format of talk hour comedy Jack taught to be a manner, especially since it's a telephone, something Baldwin has done as much as *TMZ* does. And yet, because Baldwin plays him ridiculously and

non-caricaturely, he's one of the most human and likable comic characters on TV. When, toward the end of the second season, he had to leave his job at G&B (his real gained control of the company) and work in the "linking shop" known as the Bush administration, we rooted for him to escape that deal and job. So America loves Alec Baldwin, sitcom savior. But it's not enough for him; he now wants America to love his bigger screen, work-around persona in real life, too. After all, Baldwin has had many roles that he wants to run for public office someday—"I'm *Tinacville* compared to Arnold Schwarzenegger,"

said at someone he entirely." He also wants you to know that "parental alienation is a form of child abuse" and that Kim Kardashian was trying to alienate their daughter from her father, not that he's calling *Teen* a child abuse or anything. He emerges from this book, in other words, as a flawed but good man fighting against the impossible obstacles put in his way by ex-wives, lawyers, judges, doctors, journalists, and the Internet. And in case that wasn't enough to make us love him, he makes us that there are plenty of people out there who already think he's great, like the ordinary Americans who wrote to him to say things like, "I love it. If they're making sense of the things I've said to my children, I would be past any."

So that's a preview of the new Alec Baldwin. It's hard to tell if this image makes us getting any closer, Baldwin can never help saying things that get him into trouble, though he, unlike Barack Obama, makes sure to avoid using the word "me." Even *The New Yorker* interview got him into a dead-end with a producer at his own network, when Baldwin said funny things about *My Name Is Earl*, Greg Gerson, creator of *Earl*, told *Defender.com*, "Maybe the reason enough people aren't watching *30 Rock* is that Mr. Baldwin is happy because Alec Baldwin is so unlikable as a person." Baldwin, Gerson added, "sounds like a psychotic maniac who whines about being

When the beep came, he says he 'snapped.' Anyway, his words 'were directed at someone else.'

he has said, and who can argue with that—and even if he never does, his comedy can't be blamed for not wanting a supervisor as a guy who leaves angry voice mails for his daughter. So while *A Promise to Ourselves* is a play for fathers' rights in comedy shows and doesn't trivialize the real trauma that parents and children go through in a messy divorce, it's also a kind of defense of Alec Baldwin, a misunderstood man who lets us know the real story behind the famous tape, or, as he calls it, the "insidious attempt to smear me." We learn that he wasn't responsible for his words because "when the beep came, I snapped," and anyway, even though he was talking to his daughter, his words "were directed

for right pages in *The New Yorker*." It's Glee that says that his images are low-level *NewsWeek* as "unlikeable as a person." Baldwin probably doesn't think so, but it certainly wouldn't hurt his show's chances of survival if he were as popular as his character Jack Donaghy goes around his helpful advice to Liz Lemon, in *A Promise to Ourselves*, Baldwin wanted to be trying to become the person he plays on TV, a dispenser of wisdom and a guy whose failed marriages and bad experiences have made him just the person to teach us about life. It might work. If it doesn't, he can just borrow a line from *Glee* and *30 Rock* and say, once again, "Good father! I don't give a f---." ■



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HATHAWAY plays against type as a volatile woman who comes home from rehab and wreaks emotional havoc at her sister's wedding

Finally, a bridesmaid gets her due

Anne Hathaway emerges as an early Oscar contender with 'Rachel Getting Married'

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON • A Hollywood discovery typically involves a filmmaker casting a raw talent and transforming an actor into a movie star. But with *Rachel Getting Married*, the opposite occurred: director Joshua Benzel took a quiet star and discovered a new talent.

Benzel first noticed Anne Hathaway as a teen ingenue in *The Princess Diaries*, which he saw at a drive-in with his kids. The next year, he glimpsed her on the red carpet at the Golden Globes. "She looked really pretty and gorgeous," he recalled in an interview at Toronto's film festival earlier this month. "I had this moment—she's just it! The dreamer as we was like, 'Make a note of that. Maybe one day I'll have a script where she can do something completely different.'"

In *Rachel Getting Married*, Hathaway does just that, playing against type as a volatile woman who comes home from rehab and wreaks emotional havoc at her sister's wedding. After being overshadowed by her co-stars in a succession of indie documentary roles—*Arrested Development*, *The Devil Wears Prada*, *Get Smart*—she gives a startling performance in a sister upstaging the bride. It seems guaranteed to make an Oscar nomination. And the movie is one of the freshest, most original pleasures to come out of Hollywood in a long time.

Which is funny, because there's a lot about *Rachel Getting Married* that seems familiar. We see the basic premise—of an outcasted sibling who brings unconventional gifts to her sister's wedding—just last year in *Margot at the Wedding*. *Rachel* is also reminiscent of *Monsoon Wedding*, another poignant blending with joy and music, yet rained with an explosive family secret. And the spec-

tacular documentary style of Benzel's filmmaking has been borrowed from two memorable Danish movies about family upheavals, *The Celebration* (1996) and *After the Wedding* (2006)—Denmark, in fact, showed both of them in his own job paring his own shoot.

"Because we were making a movie in America," he says, "I wanted to recast us what it's like when fiction is done as an aggressively realistic way. I know fiction is dead, but the idea of doing it the idea of any documentary—that you don't manipulate reality. The camera is after the wedding didn't look like it had designed shots but was always lucky enough to be in the right place to capture what was going on."

What's fresh about *Rachel* is how it imports European movie sensibilities to American movie. The low Robert Alton did something similar with his own brand of sprawling narrative chaos. But, lured by 35 mm film, Alton still required precise camera choreography. Although Benzel is known for movies like *Selmer* of the Swedes and *Phantom* (plus, his last four features have been documentaries), cinematographer Dedee Quinn (who shot *Miss America*) worked on all of them, and Benzel had him shoot *Rachel*'s scripted drama as digital video. "We never planned anything," says the director. "We didn't design

shots beforehand. There was no such thing as 'Anne's close up.'"

That tended to level the playing field among the movie's wildly eclectic cast, who range from veteran Debra Winger to newcomer Rosemarie DeWitt (TV's *Mad Men*). Cost as *Rachel*, the daughter bride, DeWitt gives a performance that seems to come out of nowhere and in, in its own way, as astounding as Hathaway's *Inside Lleiberville*, the African-American who plays her groom, is another wild card—the lead singer of a rock band called TV On The Radio. Benzel had originally offered the role to filmmaker Paul Thomas Anderson (who said "you've got to be kidding"), then was inspired by the notion of making *Rachel*'s marriage interracial.

The groom is a sound producer, and the bride's father is a comic executive, so Benzel thought it was only natural to include a multi-cultural band of talented musicians among the guests and have the no play whenever they like it as the camera rolled—creating an organic soundtrack. In rare times some, they're so distracting Hathaway's character tells them to shut up.

Making a movie is not unlike planning a wedding, both are nerve-racking productions that involve cast, costumes, music (and cost). Both try to create magic from a precarious slither of the scripted and the spontaneous, bringing together of sadness and joy. *Rachel Getting Married*, which works as a wedding and a movie, does exactly that. ■



WE'RE STALKING... HEATHER MILLS

Recall the "hate mail" that has made her life hell in Britain, for Paul McCartney's ex-wife is begging for Michael Gerson to let her watch at his private Heron Island in the British Virgin Islands. Heron's 14 gipsies could accommodate her—she needs the \$50,000 a day and she's still flush from the \$10-million McCartney divorce. Mills would have time to heal, says a friend. "She's tried to start a new number of times but can never step out of his shadow."



ON DISCERNING TASTE OYSTERS

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CHEF YOSHIE's "moving homes" includes sushi (macaroni) sushi served with pickled bamboo salad, and rolled fish marinated in soy and sake

How the Blue Water Café got it right

At this Vancouver seafood restaurant, you get to enjoy ethical bounty, without the lecture

BY JACOB RICHIER • The Blue Water Café, which anchors the bustling Granville Street strip in Vancouver's Yaletown, was modestly conceived according to the contemporary philosophy that sustenance includes entertainment. On this particular damp Saturday evening, it just got in on food and from my freshly warmed perch at the front bar I am observing no fewer than four bartenders rubbing this way and that, working blenders, filling ice buckets, and performing an occasional picturesque dance with their cocktail shakers, all in a well-orchestrated smush on the impossible local theme.

Further down the bar toward the rear of the room, a second spectacle is unfolding in a manner far less frenetic, but just as prodigious: here, with swiftness and grace and an appearance of hurry, the gray-haired Yoshie Tabo is running out plates after plates of sushi, sashimi and nigiri rolls with his staff of two. And directly opposite—across the spacious dining rooms, which is filling fast—one finds executive chef Frank Tabo directing his fleet kitchen crew of seven, already pumping our plates in steady rhythms. Should you wish to follow all of this action, but like the contemporary sports fan or connoisseur, prefer to view it crisply and once removed on the Jumbotron, instead of live and real, there is a flat screen television mounted over the bar rendering closed-circuit broadcasts from the whole cooking station. So you can follow the whole show without leaving your seat, or having to turn your back on your drink or your companion or any other object of your fancy.

"It's far busier than I can reach as a yourself, I'm afraid," says the living bartender, as he delivers my Hendrick's martini, very dry, stirred and not shaken—not accompanied—and then follows my inquisitive gaze to the flat screen over her head, where some nifty Japanese knife work is on display. "So they have something to look at while they're at the bar."

I thought that was why she was here. No matter. For one we here to look at the fish. For the astounding fact of the Blue Water is that since the day it opened in 2003 it has been a perennial favorite in the seafood category in all of the Vancouver restaurant rankings. And this has been accomplished above all else by virtue of culinary merit as a place of a scale that decreases you should learn to expect. Add the seats on the terrace, the private rooms and the bar to those at the main dining room and the tally here can reach 300 diners at one sitting. There is no confining the place with La Meridiana, but the Blue Water aims for a broader significance—and it achieves it, and then some.

A meal here usually begins with a knife something from the raw bar. There are 20-odd oysters to choose among (all of them farmed, most in local waters), and a host of multi-tiered towers of seafood and cooked seafood. A single dinner like one might opt instead for something small from the sushi bar, where chef Tabo, who in Japan is licensed to disembowel and marinate a fugu (puffer fish), here shows himself on far more benign local species, like salmon and tuna, along with a few predictable farmed imports like ikasako. "Like—or both, as everyone seems to know him—prepares dishes of some pickled seafood meat and marinated ingredients that showcase some lovely knife work. Tonight he serves me a tartar of fatty tuna. Not rare from the source and struggling blue fish, a certain something about its inner

coarse, the yellowfin, whose steaks are in better shape but still nothing to boast about. This tuna is a local albino, and chef chops its flesh just the right amount, reducing it to a state of admirable balance between discernible texture and mush, and then folds into the mix a little chili sauced heat, moulds it in a timbale, and places the raw pork of a quail's egg on top. A firm bite captured by chopsticks peels the pork and renders the muddily tartar beneath irresistibly creamy. A sprinkle of crisp-fried seafish on the next sampling lends the mixture pleasant crunch, and soon enough, the plate is clean. Which as it should be, because the tuna has come to take a seat in the dining room. For what brought me to the Blue Water tonight is not the supporting act at the raw bar but the main event, the work of chef Tabo.

My interest lies in particular with his approach to resolving what might well be the most complicated issue implicit in the composition of the contemporary restaurant menu: simply put, how does one properly select seafood on the basis of the health of its particular stocks, their long-term prospects and the integrity of the manner by which they were fished or farmed without letting all this environmental due diligence get in the way of a good oyster-ah? This is a major commandment for any good contemporary restaurant, and it is a lot harder to resolve in a large and crisscrossing busy restaurant like this one than it is for any other. The old-school chef with the destination restaurant with 60 seats or fewer can always lead a faithful clientele to some hitherto little-known fish—blue, say, or cob—of farmed origin or Tasmanian sea trout, to name just a few that enjoyed an unexpectedly good run in the frying pan over the last five years. And the small restaurant also routinely enjoys the indulgence of its customers when, midway through service,



* 'HEARS BOMB-BOASTING' says one witness whose husband suddenly bolted. 'It was as if my dog had just started speaking French.'

staring by criticism in her native Britain that she was a porcelaine, dangerously thin mannequin, the former Spice Girl has been suffering more these days, her appetite stimulated by a more active lifestyle, including daily runs in Los Angeles, where she lives with husband, David, and their kids. One of the few people ever to decline Hollywood's conative to mental stability, she adds, "It's so happy it could just go shopping every day and sit on my bum."

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My advice to Dion? Unleash the killer robots!



SCOTT
MACKENZIE

Because I am regarded across the Dominion as an expert political strategist (very savvy), do people often approach me in public with questions about what their preferred political leader must do to triumph in the federal election. Visually, I respond by smiling broadly and saying something handily generic like, "Just up us. This really isn't the place to discuss this. Mr. Dion." After all, even when someone's just given an interview—although if you retained the services of an expert political strategist like me, you would always know what they go on to say. Besides, for instance.

But I'm in a generous mood. Here's an expert (very savvy) look at what the lead on need to do in the second half of the campaign.

Stephen Harper: His flop didn't stick to him. Gotta don't mind him. Nothing seems to stick to him. (Except for insurers—the chairman committee he had installed before the campaign is 70 per cent men.)

Evans: Yes, he's the family friend, baby, housing, human resources having character being personified by the Conservative leader—a playing card in two important demographic groups: his key voters, who make up 21 per cent of voters, and the early hard-core voters, who apparently make up the rest. Harper has won taken something down on the public and playing piano whenever he can find one. Under his campaign want of security and confidence. Give me, by the way go down in history as the big game minister to be admired for failing to dislodge someone from his throne.

A strategy is within Harper's reach if the war between his appeal just a little bit more. He's already wrapped closing his speeches with "God Bless Canada"—to win over new voters. It's already through the phone with couples in toddlers—to win over parents. The key to winning young people voting

for the first time. But how to appeal to the kids? Ladies and gentlemen, I give you MC: Steve El. *Plunder-blue monster* *Mad polystyrene thing* *I'm the Alex P. Karon* *But you're right wrong* *Stephane Dion* What can the Liberal leader do more than ramp up? Well, before the campaign, one expert political strategist (me—very savvy) wrote that Dion's image problems could be solved if he made just one bold change—growing a big hairy moustache. That way, voters could ascribe to him the characteristics of moustache heroes of old: discretion, resolve, the ability to outwit Denzil Kong.



He ignored my pleas to grow a moustache. Now it's too late for the fallback: Plan Afro.

But Dion failed to take my advice—and now we're stuck as a politician in the campaign when it's too late to implement my contingency Plan Afro. The Liberal leader's only option is to go back to the race? Replacing his entire campaign team with one man—danzon Michael Ray.

You heard me. At this point I don't believe anything short of the wholesale destruction of an entire metropolitan area by killer robots spouting many catchphrases would be sufficient to generate wide-spread public interest in Stéphane Dion.

P.S., a majority of political scientists in

this country have long believed that the lead in a debate would be more convincing if the head of the Liberal party was a Transformer with a cannon for an arm. Consider how our history would have been enriched.

MacKenzie: You had an option, so you could have said no. You could—
"Turner" [BOOOOM]
Erosberry: May, wait a minute, he rises a good point about—
"Turner" [BOOOOM]
Knowlton: Nah. Well, with only one leader left on stage, I guess tonight's debate is—
"Turner" [BOOOOOOM]

Jack Layton: The New Democrat leader began the campaign by asking Canadians to elect a new prime minister—poor me, again, that you can't best opening with a good joke. At the halfway point approaches, Layton must now subtly alert that message and ask Canadians to make him leader of the opposition. When that doesn't work, he can use the first day of the campaign to ask Canadians if they need any odd jobs done around the house. We must have clean, power-free change, to the very end, the change!

Elizabeth May: The Green leader spent the week travelling across the country by train, conquering warm images of whole swarms of old. More important, it was the only way to get to the place where the party's dubious platform thrashed in the Clash of Planesville. May is campaigning to a popular—but party needs to focus a shorter display

of grassroots support. When Sarah Polak was selected to join the Republican ticket, you could win the day by Toronto, but high costs though calculated with the Prime man. I assume the change somehow living together in co-operation, rather than awkwardly down, the (moustache). It's more for Green party enthusiasm to follow and give away May. Instead, the campaign—the only political intrigue that's responsible—finds, in that it's just asked to bridge gaps by 3 p.m. ■

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LLOYD ROGER MASON

1945-2008

He loved nature, and taking his grandchildren on boat rides to see turtles and other animals

Lloyd Roger Mason was born in Almont, Minn., on Sept. 6, 1945, to his parents, Frank and Vera. He was the youngest of three children; his childhood was spent in proximity to the family dairy, milking the cows, helping with the harvest and collecting eggs. In his spare time, he would go fishing, and would often bring home souvenirs, such as feathers, stones, frogs and toads. Although he loved all animals, his favorite was a pet Jersey cow named Daisy. As a five-year-old, he would be beside her, as he lay up in her back and go forlorn. "He really loved that cow," explains his wife, Shirley, 58, who now works as a nursing home. "They had quite a relationship."

Autism loomed. Lloyd had a few friends in his youth. At age 10, he and a school friend went camping by a ditch near the family home. While they were sleeping, a beaver gnawed through a nearby tree, which split in two. A large branch fell on the boys, which collapsed onto the boys. Terrified, they struggled out, and ran home on their pyjamas.

Lloyd began working before he finished school, first taking odd jobs, like panning grain elevators, and then opening his own small dairy truck business in Winnipeg. In 1962, he met his wife through a mutual friend, he picked her up in a beat-up convertible, and, they lay shy, took her for "the ride of his life." The couple had three children, two girls named Shannon and Sherrin, and a son, Lee. Lloyd taught

Lee to play hockey, coached the junior team, and liked taking the girls on long hikes. Family holidays were spent camping in a tent trailer, and sometimes Lloyd would sleep outside to be closer to nature. "Together the family travelled throughout Minnesota, British Columbia and Alberta, and a few times they drove to the United States. On vacation, Lloyd would watch his children share the local wildlife, bird watching, look at specimens of animals like baby rabbits and frogs, but always letting them go. He would return by mosquitoes, flies and wasps, and "almost anything that bites," Shirley says, although he never complained.

In 1976, Lloyd and Shirley went into business together and started a trucking business in Pilot Mound, 345 km southwest of Winnipeg, where the family had moved. They worked as a team: he drove the trucks and managed seven other employees, while she answered the phones and kept the books. The company transported livestock,

grain, fertilizer, fresh produce and other goods to the surrounding towns in southern Manitoba. On long trips, Lloyd would bring along his pup, Tyler, for company. He liked smuggling live into hockey games and a lacrosse or chatting to the dog on the road. In 1999, the family moved to a house, quite literally—the three bedrooms dwelling was raised from foundations and transported intact to Rock Lake, a 30-minute drive away. The new spot was right on the lake, with a spectacular view looking south onto the open water and up the Pembina River. Lloyd would take his grandchildren, the neighbors and their kids on boat rides in early morning and go out to the variety of animals in the area. He also lived fishing about the lakeside on his tripod. "Lloyd was a very chatty and friendly person," Shirley explains. "He always wanted to take people on adventures and teach them how to appreciate nature."

Lloyd tried to spend every spare minute outside. In the evenings, he and his wife would walk up and enjoy a cup of coffee sitting on their dock, watching the wildlife in the garden. Lloyd had erected a bird feeder that drew hummingbirds and arrives. The property housed other animals too, such as leopard frogs, garter snakes, wild turkey and deer. The family avoided using any chemical sprays to as not to harm the environment.

Although he cared for all creatures (he differed fishing because he didn't want to kill what he caught), Lloyd planned to inherit the wasps that had been tormenting his property. He even decided on the type of trap: a fancied wire bottle that did not require any sort of bait. The insects were everywhere, and the couple learned that their grandchildren might be hurt. Their son-in-law had already been stung by a wasp while standing on their back deck, and a neighbor had been stung inside her mouth.

On Sept. 3, 2008, Lloyd went to sleep well after lunch. He roused a few minutes later, and called out to his wife, who was getting ready for work. He said he'd been seeing roach-like wasps and felt dizzy. Then he collapsed. Shirley called 911, and emergency workers explained over the phone how to do CPR on her unconscious husband while she waited for the ambulance. It arrived 20 minutes later. As Shirley followed in an RCMP patrol, Lloyd Mason died while on the way to the hospital from a severe allergic reaction to the multiple stings. He was 63.

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